



**University of  
Zurich**<sup>UZH</sup>

**Zurich Open Repository and  
Archive**

University of Zurich  
Main Library  
Strickhofstrasse 39  
CH-8057 Zurich  
[www.zora.uzh.ch](http://www.zora.uzh.ch)

---

Year: 1988

---

## **Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards: Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae**

Schulman, Alan R.

**Abstract:** The repertoire of scenes on Egyptian private stelae is relatively limited to scenes of the funerary banquet, of the deceased receiving offerings, or making them. About the reign of Thutmose IV in the New Kingdom, and lasting through the end of Dynasty 20, scenes which seemingly have nothing to do with these motifs begin to occasionally appear in the stelae repertoire: the king smiting his enemies, receiving a weapon from a god, a god's barque carried in procession, the deceased being rewarded with gold collars or riding in his chariot, and the like. The present work attempts to discern why such scenes appear on private stelae. After a careful examination of all of the known private monuments of this class which depict who specific motifs, a) the king smiting an enemy and b) the awarding of gold sbiw-collars to the stela's dedicatee, a total of approximately 35 monuments, the conclusion was reached that such representations are not merely timeless stereotypes but actually represented specific events which took place at specific points in time. Thus the stelae function on two levels simultaneously, a concrete one commemorating the original event, and an abstract one in which the scene illustrated is repeated for eternity.

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-149722>

Monograph

Published Version

Originally published at:

Schulman, Alan R. (1988). Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards: Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae. Freiburg, Switzerland / Göttingen, Germany: Universitätsverlag / Vandenhoeck Ruprecht.

# SCHULMAN · CEREMONIAL EXECUTION

Published by the Biblical Institute of the University  
of Fribourg Switzerland  
the Seminar für Biblische Zeitgeschichte  
of the University of Münster i.W. Federal Republic of Germany  
and the Schweizerische Gesellschaft  
für orientalische Altertumswissenschaft  
Editor: Othmar Keel  
Coeditors: Erich Zenger and Albert de Pury

*The Author:*

Alan Richard Schulman was born in Brooklyn on 14.1.1930. He was educated at the City College of New York (BA in Classical Languages and Ancient History, 1952), the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (MA in Egyptology, 1958), and the University of Pennsylvania (PhD in Egyptology, 1962). He works as an Assistant in the Egyptian Section of the University Museum from 1958–1962; taught Egyptology as a Visiting Associate Professor at both Dropsie University and Tel Aviv University, was an Instructor in History at Columbia University and is currently Professor of Ancient and Military History at Queens College and the Graduate Center of City University of New York. He has participated in excavations in Egypt and Israel, is the author of *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin: 1964) and has contributed over seventy articles and numerous book reviews to various scholarly periodicals including *The Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, *The Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities*, *Toronto*, *Chronique d'Égypte*, *Israel Exploration Journal*, *Tel Aviv*, *Atiqot*, *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, *The Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *The Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar*, *Natural History*, and *Bollettino del Centro Camuno di Studi Preistorici*.

ALAN R. SCHULMAN

# CEREMONIAL EXECUTION AND PUBLIC REWARDS

Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ  
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT GÖTTINGEN  
1988

*CIP-Kurztitelaufnahme der Deutschen Bibliothek*

*Alan R. Schulman:*

Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards. Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae / Alan R. Schulman.  
– Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1988.

(Orbis biblicus et orientalis; 75)

ISBN 3-525-53704-2 (Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht)

ISBN 3-7278-0548-X (Univ.-Verl.)

NE: GT

Publication subsidized  
by the Swiss Academy of Humanities

© 1988 by Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz  
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen  
Paulusdruckerei Freiburg Schweiz

ISBN 3-7278-0548-X (Universitätsverlag)  
ISBN 3-525-53704-2 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)

Digitalisat erstellt durch Florian Lippke, Departement  
für Biblische Studien, Universität Freiburg Schweiz

To the Memories of  
Hilda Schulman, 1904-1986  
Rudolf Anthes, 1896-1985



## Table of Contents

|  |      |
|--|------|
| <u>Preface</u>                                   | ix   |
| <u>Abbreviations</u>                             | xi   |
| <u>Bibliography</u>                              | xiii |
| <u>Introduction</u>                              | 1    |
| <u>Notes to the Introduction</u>                 | 6    |
| <u>Chapter 1: The Pharaoh Slays His Enemies</u>  | 8    |
| A. Introduction                                  | 8    |
| B. The Free-Standing Stelae                      | 10   |
| C. The Rock-Cut Stelae                           | 31   |
| D. The Meaning of the Scene                      | 39   |
| E. The Temporal Parameters                       | 52   |
| F. The Venue and Conclusions                     | 57   |
| <u>Notes to Chapter 1</u>                        | 63   |
| <u>Chapter 2: The Giving of Gold as a Reward</u> | 116  |
| A. Introduction                                  | 116  |
| B. The Stelae                                    | 119  |
| C. Conclusions                                   | 140  |
| <u>Notes to Chapter 2</u>                        | 148  |
| <u>Chapter 3: Afterthoughts</u>                  | 192  |
| <u>Notes to the Afterthoughts</u>                | 198  |
| <u>Appendix</u>                                  | 200  |
| <u>Notes to the Appendix</u>                     | 211  |
| <u>Addenda</u>                                   | 220  |
| <u>Figures (Line Drawings)</u>                   | 225  |
| <u>Plates</u>                                    | 255  |





### Preface

My teacher and dear friend, the late Rudolf Anthes, was fond of telling the following story about one of his colleagues in Berlin. I think it was Spiegelberg. It seemed that whenever a student would come up with a clearly absurd translation of a text, or an ingenious solution to an Egyptological problem, Spiegelberg would look at him squarely in the eye, muse for a moment, and then say: "Yes...that is possible. ... With God anything is possible". Even this book, but it would not have possible without the kindness and helpfulness of a number of friends and colleagues who read the manuscript, discussed its contents with me, provided me with both the photographs and the permissions to publish them in the plates, collated texts for me when it was necessary and possible, and, in general, endured the barrages of questions with which I assaulted them with the patience of the Saints. Consequently it gives me great satisfaction to acknowledge here their thoughtfulness, kindness, and assistance, though I, of course, am solely responsible for any flaws, faults, or errors which may be present: Richard Fazzini, Jim Romano, and Diane Gutzman of the Department of Egyptian and Classical Art and the Wilbour Library of the Brooklyn Museum, Henry Fischer, Christine Lilyquist, Ann Russman of the Department of Egyptian Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Herman de Meulenaere and C. de Wit of the Egyptian Department of Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, the late Labib Habachi, Klaus Baer, and John A. Larsen of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Louise Berge and Maebetty Langdon of the Art Institute of Chicago, Susan H. Auth of the Newark Museum, Wolfgang Müller and Karl-Heinz Priese of the Aegyptisches Museum Berlin, DDR, Peter and Irmgard

Munro of the Kestner Museum, Hannover, Jaromir Málek and Helen Murray of the Griffith Institute of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, and Geoffrey T. Martin of University College, London. And, finally to my wife, Dalia and my children, 'Anath and Magen, without whose patience and forbearance this book could never have been written. To all of the above, individually and collectively I tender my sincerest and deepest thanks.

Basically I am a historian. My training is essentially Egyptological. What I am not is an artist or draftsman. The line drawings which illustrate the individual stelae discussed and catalogued in the text are not and do not pretend to be facsimilies of the various monuments, but they do show everything of the latter which I could see. In most cases I worked from a combination of studying the original monument, my own photograph of it, and the published photographs of it, but in some cases I had to depend only on the published photograph or line drawing. In such instances, however, this has been noted in the text. In most instances my line drawings show both the scene and the text of the individual stelae, but in a few instances I have shown only the scene. In all cases of the published monuments, the publications in which they appear are easily accessible and are given as fully as possible. In the case of the unpublished documents I have included a photograph.

New York and Tel Aviv, 1986

### Abbreviations

|                    |  |
|--------------------|--|
| <u>ARE</u>         | J.H. Breasted, <u>Ancient Records of Egypt.</u>  |
| <u>ASAE</u>        | <u>Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte.</u>  |
| <u>Atlas</u>       | W.Wreszinski, <u>Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte.</u>  |
| <u>BIFAO</u>       | <u>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.</u>  |
| <u>CAH</u>         | <u>Cambridge Ancient History.</u> 3rd edition.   |
| <u>CdÉ</u>         | <u>Chronique d'Égypte.</u>   |
| <u>CRIPPEL</u>     | <u>Cahier de Recherches de l'Institut de Papyrologie et d'Égyptologie de Lille.</u>  |
| <u>GM</u>          | <u>Göttinger Miszellen.</u>  |
| <u>JAOS</u>        | <u>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</u>   |
| <u>JARCE</u>       | <u>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</u>   |
| <u>JEA</u>         | <u>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</u>  |
| <u>JNES</u>        | <u>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</u>  |
| <u>KRI</u>         | K.A. Kitchen, <u>Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical.</u>  |
| <u>LD</u>          | C.R. Lepsius, <u>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien.</u>  |
| <u>LdAe</u>        | <u>Lexikon der Aegyptologie.</u>   |
| <u>MDAIK</u>       | <u>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo.</u>   |
| <u>MIO</u>         | <u>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung.</u>   |
| <u>PM</u>          | B. Porter, R. Moss, E.W. Birney, and J. Málek, <u>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.</u> |
| <u>PN</u>          | H. Ranke, <u>Die ägyptische Personennamen.</u>   |
| <u>PSBA</u>        | <u>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.</u>   |
| <u>Rec. trav.</u>  | <u>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes.</u>  |
| <u>Rev. d'Egy.</u> | <u>Revue d'Égyptologie.</u>  |

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <u>Urk.</u> IV. | <u>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums, IV, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie.</u> |
| <u>VDI</u>      | <u>Vestnik Drevne Istorii.</u>  |
| <u>Wb.</u>      | <u>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache.</u>                                |
| <u>WZKM</u>     | <u>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</u>                 |
| <u>ZAeS</u>     | <u>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.</u>             |

# Bibliography

- Aimé-Giron, N. "Adversaria Semitica (III)", ASAE 40 (1941) 433-460, pls. 30-42.
- Aldred, C. Jewels of the Pharaohs. abridged ed. (New York: 1979).
- Allam, S. Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit. (Tübingen: 1973).
- Allen, T.G. Egyptian Stelae in the Field Museum of Natural History. (Chicago: 1936).
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection. (Chicago: 1923).
- Aly, M., F. Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, Le temple d'Amada IV. (Cairo: 1967).
- Arkell, A.J. A History of the Sudan from the Earliest Times to 1821. 2nd ed. (London: 1961).
- Arnold, D. Wandrelief und Raumbfunktion in Ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches. (Berlin: 1962).
- Avdiev, V.I. "Religionznoje opravdanie vojny v drevneegipetskom iskusstvie, Sceny triumfa", VDI 4 (9) 1939, 103-117.
- Badawy, A. A History of Egyptian Architecture. The Empire (the New Kingdom). From the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth. 1580-1085 B.C. (Berkeley: 1968).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Monumental Gateway for a Temple of King Sety I, An Ancient Model Restored", Miscellanea Wilbouriana 1 (1972) 1-20.
- Barguet, P. "Au sujet d'une représentation du ka royal", ASAE 51 (1951) 98-101.
- Barta, W. "Zwei ramessidische Stelen aus dem Wadi Sannûr", MDAIK 20 (1965) 98-101.
- Bass, G. Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck. (Philadelphia: 1967).

Berend, W. Principaux monuments de Musée égyptien de Florence.  
(Paris: 1882).

Blackman, A.M. The Temple of Derr. (Cairo: 1913).

Blok, H. "Remarques sur quelques stèles dites 'à oreilles'",  
Kemi 1 (1928) 123-135.

Boeser, P. Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches: Dritte Abteilung. Stelen.  
(Leiden: 1913).

Bogoslovskaya, I.V. "The Dress of Ethnic Groups Settled in Canaan  
as Depicted in Egyptian Art of the Sixteenth to Twelfth Cen-  
turies B.C." (Russian), VDI 3 (153) 1980, 117-141.

Bonnet, H. Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients. (Leipzig:  
1913).

Borchardt, L. Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re'. II (Leipzig:  
1913).

Boreux, Ch. Musée nationale du Louvre: Département des antiquités  
égyptiennes: guide-catalogue sommaire. I (Paris: 1932).

Bosticco, S. Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane.  
3 vols. (Florence: 1965-1972).

Bouriant, U., G. Legrain, and G. Jequier, Monuments pour servir à  
l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Égypte. (Cairo: 1913).

Botti, G. and P. Romanelli, Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egi-  
zio. (Vatican City: 1951).

Breasted, J.H. Ancient Records of Egypt. 5 vols. (Chicago: 1906).

British Museum, A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Egyptian  
Rooms and the Coptic Room. (London: 1922).

\_\_\_\_\_. Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae, etc. in the  
British Museum. 10 vols. (London: 1911- ).

Brunner-Traut, E. Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka)  
der Deutscher Museen und Sammlungen. (Wiesbaden: 1956).

- \_\_\_\_\_. Egyptian Artists' Sketches. (Leiden: 1979).
- Bruyère, B. Deir el Médineh Année 1926. Sondage au temple funéraire de Thôtmes II (Hat Ankh Shepset). Cairo: 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Quelques stèles trouvées par M. É. Baraize à Deir el Médineh", ASAE 25 (1925) 76-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935): troisième partie. (Cairo: 1939).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940). (Cairo: 1940).
- Bryan, B.M. The Reign of Tuthmosis IV. (unpublished Yale Ph. D. dissertation. New Haven: 1980).
- Budge, E.A.W. A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture). (London: 1909).
- Camino, R.A. The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim. (London: 1968).
- Capart, J. "Ostraca illustrant des textes littéraires", CdE 16 (1941) 190-195.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Stèles égyptiennes", Bulletin des Musées Royaux des arts décoratifs et industriels 4 (1913) 49-51.
- Carter, H. The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen, Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter. III (London: 1933).
- Černý, J. A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period. (Cairo: 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty", CAH 3rd ed. II chapter 35.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Egyptian Oracles" in R.A. Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum. (Providence: 1962) 35-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Egyptian Stelae in the Banks Collection. (Oxford: 1958).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la



- nécropole thébaine", BIFAO 27 (1927) 159-203.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Le temple d'Amada. Cahier V. Les inscriptions historiques. (Cairo: 1967).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Review of W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches in Bibliotheca Orientalis 19 (1962) 140-144.
- \_\_\_\_\_, A.H. Gardiner, and T.E. Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai. 2nd ed. (London: 1952).
- Chevrier, H. "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1952-1953)", ASAE 53 (1955) 7-19.
- Cooney, J.D. Amarna Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections. (Brooklyn: 1965).
- Daressy, G. "Tombeaux et stèles-limites de Hagi-Qandil", Rec. trav. 15 (1893) 36-62.
- David, A.R. Religious Ritual at Abydos. (Warminster: 1973).
- Davies, N.D.G. "Akhenaton at Thebes", JEA 9 (1923) 132-152.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "The Graphic Work of the Expedition" in "The Egyptian Expedition 1928-1929", Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (November 1929) 35-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition" in "The Egyptian Expedition 1929-1930", *ibid.* (December 1930) 29-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Rock Tombs of El Amarna. 6 vols. (London: 1903-1908).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes. (New York: 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes. (New York: 1933).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes. (New York: 1925).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose. (London: 1941).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth (nos. 75 and 90). (London: 1923).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes. (New York: 1927).

- De Morgan, J. Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. I (Cairo: 1894).
- Dewachter, M. "Remarques à propos d'huisseries en pierre retrouvées au temple Nord de Ouadi es-Séboua", CRIPPEL 7 (1985) 23-37.
- Drioton, E. "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale", ASAE 40 (1940) 305-429.
- Dunham, D. "Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston", JEA 21 (1935) 147-151.
- Edgerton, W.F. and J.A. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III. (Chicago: 1936).
- Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I. (Chicago: 1986).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Medinet Habu I. The Earlier Historical Records of Ramesses III. (Chicago: 1930).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Medinet Habu II. The Later Historical Records of Ramesses III. (Chicago: 1932).
- Erman, A. "Denksteine aus der thebanische Gräberstadt", Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, phil.-hist. Kl. (Berlin: 1911) 1086-1110.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Neuägyptische Grammatik. 2nd ed. (Leipzig: 1933).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Die Religion der Ägypter. (Berlin: 1934).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zwei Weihgeschenke aus der thebanischen Nekropole", Ägyptische Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen 33 (1911-1912) 15-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. and H. Grapow, eds. Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache im Auftrage der deutschen Akademien. new unchanged impression. (Berlin: 1955).
- Ertman, E. "The Gold of Honor in Royal Representation", Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt 83 (Oct. 1972)

26-27.

Fairman, H.W. The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama. (London: 1974).

Fakhry, A. "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes", ASAE 42 (1943) 447-508.

Faulkner, R.O. "Egypt from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty to the Death of Ramesses III", CAH 3rd ed. (1976) II chapter 23.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Wars of Sethos I", JEA 33 (1947) 34-39.

Federn, W. "Htp (r)dj(w) (n) 'Inpw: zum Verständnis der vor-osirianischen Opferformel", MDAIK 16 (1958) 120-130.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Roi ou statue royale?", CdÉ 34 (1959) 214.

Feucht, E. Die königlichen Pektoreale. (Dissertation Munich: 1967).

Fischer, H.G. "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein", Kush 9 (1961) 44-80.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom", The Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal 8 (1975) 7-24.

Gaballa, G.A. Narrative in Egyptian Art. (Mainz am Rhein: 1976).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Some Nineteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Cairo Museum", BIFAO 71 (1972) 129-137.

Gabra, S. Les conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaoniques. Scènes de récompenses royales aux fonctionnaires. (Cairo: 1929).

Gardiner, A.H. Ancient Egyptian Onomastica. 2 vols. (Oxford: 1947).

\_\_\_\_\_. Egypt of the Pharaohs. (Oxford: 1961).

\_\_\_\_\_. Egyptian Grammar. 3rd ed. (Oxford: 1957).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun", JEA 38 (1952) 6-23.

Gauthier, H. Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans

les textes hiéroglyphiques. 6 vols. (Cairo: 1925-1929).

\_\_\_\_\_. "Les 'Fils Royaux de Kouch' et le personnel administratif de l'Éthiopie", Rec. trav. 39 (1921) 179-238.

Giveon, R. "Tuthmosis IV and Asia", JNES 28 (1969) 54-59.

Goyon, J.C. Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte. (Cairo: 1972).

Grdseloff, B. Les debuts du culte de Rechef en Égypte. (Cairo: 1942).

Habachi, L. Features of the Deification of Ramesses II. (Glückstadt: 1969).

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan", Kush 5 (1957) 13-36.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance", ASAE 52 (1954) 443-562.

\_\_\_\_\_. "King Amenmesse and Viziers Amenmose and Kha'emtore: Their Monuments and Place in History", MDAIK 34 (1978) 57-67.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta", BIFAO 80 (1980) 13-20.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Qantir Stela of the Vizier Rahotep and the Statue Ruler-of-Rulers", Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will Ehrensensator der Universität München. (Köln: 1966) 67-77.

Hall, E.S. "The Pharaoh Slays his Foes" (unpublished manuscript in the Brooklyn Museum).

Hall, H.R. A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum. I (London: 1913).

Hassan, S. The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets. (Cairo: 1953).

Hayes, W.C. The Scepter of Egypt. II (New York: 1959).

Helck, W. "Abgeschnitten Hände als Siegeszeichen", GM 18 (1975) 23-24.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Das Dekret des Königs Haremheb", ZaES 80 (1955) 109-136.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters  
'Imn-htp", MIO 4 (1956) 161-178.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Historische-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit  
und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie. (Wiesbaden: 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Uebersetzung zur den Heft-  
en 17-22. (Berlin: 1961).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zum Kult am Königsstatuen", JNES 25 (1966) 32-41.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches.  
(Leiden: 1958).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and E. Otto, Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie.  
(Wiesbaden: 1956).
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. Lexikon der Aegyptologie. (Wiesbaden: 1975- ).
- Hermann, A. "Jubel bei Audienz. Zur Gebardensprache in der Kunst  
des Neuen Reiches", ZAeS 90 (1963) 49-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Das Motiv der Ente mit zurückgewendeten Kopfe im äg-  
yptischen Kunstgewerbe", ZAeS 68 (1932) 86-105.
- Hintze, F. "Die Felsenstele Sethos I bei Qasr Ibrim", ZAeS 87  
(1962) 31-40.
- Hölscher, U. The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III. II (Chicago:  
1951).
- Ippel, A. and G. Roeder, Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu  
Hildesheim. (Hildesheim: 1921).
- Jequier, G. Le monument funéraire de Pépi II. (Cairo: 1938).
- Kamal, A. "Rapport sur les fouilles du Comte du Galarza", ASAE  
10 (1910) 117-118.
- Kayser, H. Die Ägyptische Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum  
in Hildesheim. (Hildesheim: 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Söhne des Sonnengottes", Zeitschrift des Museums zu  
Hildesheim. NF 23 (1971) 43-44.
- Kees, H. "Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Ägypter und seiner Sym-

bolik", Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1942) nr. 2, 71-88.

Kemp, B.J. "The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna and the Basic Structure of the City", JEA 62 (1976) 81-99.

Kitchen, K.A. "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia" in E. Endeselder et al. eds. Aegypten und Kusch. (Berlin: 1977) 40-48.

\_\_\_\_\_. Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical. 7 vols. (Oxford: 1969- ).

\_\_\_\_\_ and G.A.Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II", ZAeS 96 (1969) 14-28.

Koefoed-Petersen, O. Les stèles égyptiennes. (Copenhagen: 1948).

\_\_\_\_\_. Recueil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg. (Brussels: 1936).

Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Ausführliches Verzeichnis der ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse. 2nd ed. (Berlin: 1929).

Lacau, P. Les stèles du Nouvelle Empire. (Cairo: 1909-1957).

Leclant, J. "La 'famille libyenne' au temple haut de Pépi Ier", Livre du centenaire (Cairo: 1980) 49-54.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte 1952-1953", Orientalia 23 (1954 ) 64-79.

\_\_\_\_\_. "La 'Mascarade' des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Égypte", MDAIK 14 (1956) 129-145.

Ledrain, E. La stèle du Collier d'or. (Paris: 1876).

\_\_\_\_\_. Les monuments égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale. (Paris: 1879-1891).

Lefebvre, G. Inscriptions concernant les grandes prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roy et Amenhotep. (Paris: 1929).

Leiblein, J. Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques en ordre généalogique et alphabétique. I (Christiana: 1871).

- Lepsius, C.R. Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. 12 vols. (Berlin: 1849-1859).
- Lesko, L.H. "The Wars of Ramses III", Serapis 6 (1980) 83-86.
- Liebowitz, H.A. "Horses in New Kingdom Art and the Date of an Ivory from Megiddo", JARCE 6 (1967) 129-134.
- Loat, W.L.S. Gurob. (London: 1905).
- Lutz, H.F. Egyptian tomb steles and offering stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California. (Berkeley: 1927).
- Macadam, M.F.L. The Temples of Kawa. II. History and Archaeology of the Site. (Oxford: 1955).
- Mariette, A. Monuments divers recueilles en Égypte et en Nubie. (Paris: 1879).
- Matiegka, L. "Individual Characteristics of Figures on the Egyptian Stelae", Archiv Orientalní 20 (1952) 15-27.
- Meulenaere, H. de. Le règne du Soleil. Akhenaton et Néfertiti. (Brussels: 1975).
- Mogensen, M. "A Stela of the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty with a Hymn to Ptah and Sekhmet", PSBA 35 (1913) 37-40.
- Mohammed, M. Abdul-Kader, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine during the New Kingdom", ASAE 56 (1959) 105-137.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes. (Cairo: 1966).
- Moret, A. Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Galerie Égyptienne, stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers. (Paris: 1901).
- Munro, P. "Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Bildmetrik", Städels Jahrbuch NF 3 (1971) 7-42.
- Murnane, W.J. Ancient Egyptian Coregencies. (Chicago: 1977).
- Muscarella, O.W. "Ziwe and Ziwe: the Forgery of a Provenience",

Journal of Field Archaeology 4 nr. 2 (1977) 197-218.

Noblecourt, C.D., S. Donadoni, and E. Edel, Grand temple d'Abou Simbel: la bataille de Qadech. (Cairo: 1971).

Otto, E. Die ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual. (Wiesbaden: 1960).

Petersen, B.J. "Ägyptische Stelen und Stelenfragmente aus Stockholmer Sammlungen", Opuscula Atheniensia 9 (1969) 95-123.

\_\_\_\_\_. Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt. (Stockholm: 1973).

Petrie, W.M.F. Gizeh and Rifeh. (London: 1907).

\_\_\_\_\_. Hyksos and Israelite Cities. (London: 1906).

\_\_\_\_\_. Memphis I. (London: 1909).

\_\_\_\_\_. Riqqeh and Memphis VI. (London: 1915).

Pflüger, K. "The Edict of King Haremhab", JNES 5 (1946) 260-276.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History", JAOS 67 (1947) 127-135.

Pierret, P. Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre. II (Paris: 1878).

Pijoan, J. Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte. 3. El arte egipcio hasta la conquista romana. 2nd ed. (Madrid: 1945).

Platt, A.F.R. "Notes on the Stela of Sekhmetmer", PSBA 35 (1914) 129-132.

Porter, B., R. Moss, and E.W. Birney, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings. 7 vols. (Oxford: 1927- ).

Pörtner, B. Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel. (Strassburg: 1908).

Posener, G. ed. Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization. (New York: 1959).

Pritchard, J.B. ed. Ancient Near Eastern Pictures Relating to the Old Testament. (Princeton: 1954).



- \_\_\_\_\_. "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs", Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 122 (1951) 36-41.
- Ramond, P. Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse. (Cairo: 1977).
- Ranke, H. Die ägyptischen Personennamen. 2 vols. (Glückstadt: 1935-1952).
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum. (Philadelphia: 1950).
- Redford, D.B. "The Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty", JNES 25 (1960) 113-124.
- Ricke, H., G.R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II. (Chicago: 1967).
- Riefstahl, E. "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man", JNES 10 (1951) 65-73.
- Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden. Kunst voor de Eeuwigheid. (Leiden: 1960).
- Roeder, G. Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali. (Cairo: 1935).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Hermopolis 1929-1939. (Hildesheim: 1959).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ramses II als Gott", ZAeS 61 (1926) 57-67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Der Schmuckwert der ägyptischen Hieroglyphen", Buch und Schrift 3 (1928) 83-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. II (Berlin: 1914).
- Rosellini, I. Oggetti di antichità egiziane riportati dalla spedizione letteraria Toscana in Egitto e in Nubia. (Florence: 1830).
- Rowe, A. A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Amulets in the Palestine Archaeological Museum. (Cairo: 1936).

- \_\_\_\_\_. The Topography and History of Beth-Shan. (Philadelphia: 1930).
- Saleh, J.M. Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb. (Paris: 1970).
- Sandman, M. Texts from the Time of Akhenaton. (Brussels: 1938).
- Sandman-Holmberg, M. The God Ptah. (Lund: 1948).
- Säve-Söderbergh, T. Aegypten und Nubien. (Lund: 1941).
- El-Sayed, R. "Stèles des particuliers relatives au culte rendu au statues royales de la XVIIIe dynastie à la XXe dynastie", BIFAO 79 (1979) 155-166.
- Schäfer, H. "Aus einem ägyptischen Kriegslager", Ämtliche Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen 40 (1919) 157-158.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Das Niederschlagen der Feinde. Zur Geschichte eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes", WZKM 54 (1957) 168-176.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Der König im Fenster. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben der Kunst von Tell El-Amarna", Ämtliche Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen 49 nr. 9 (1928) 34-40.
- Schott, S. "Ein ungewöhnliches Symbol des Triumphes über Feinde Aegyptens", JNES 14 (1955) 96-98.
- Schmidt, J.D. Ramesses III: A Chronological Structure for His Reign. (Baltimore: 1973).
- Schulman, A.R. "'Ankhesenamūn, Nofretity, and the Amka Affair", JARCE 15 (1978) 43-48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy: The Treaty of Year 21", The SSEA Journal 8 (1977-1978) 112-130.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Beyond the Fringe: Sources for Old Kingdom Foreign Affairs", The SSEA Journal 9 (1979) 79-104.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis", JNES 22 (1963) 177-184.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Iconographic Theme: 'Opening of the Mouth' on Stelae", JARCE 21 (1984) 169-196.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Memphite Stela, the Bark of Ptah, and Some Iconographic Comments", Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar 2 (1980) 83-109.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Military Establishment of the Egyptian Empire. (unpublished MA thesis, Chicago: 1958).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom. (Berlin: 1964).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Nubian War of Akhenaton", in L'Égyptologie en 1979: axes prioritaires des recherches. II (Paris: 1982) 299-316.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Private Triumph in Brooklyn, Hildesheim and Berlin", JARCE 7 (1968) 27-35.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Reshep Times Two", in W.K.Simpson and W.M.Davis, eds. Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980. (Boston: 1980) 157-166.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Royal Butler Ramessesemperre'", JARCE 13 (1970) 117-130.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The koyal Butler Ramessessami'on", CdE 61 (1986 in press).
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Setau at Memphis", The SSEA Journal 8 (1977-1978) 42-44.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Siege Warfare in Pharaonic Egypt", Natural History 78 (March 1964) 12-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Two Unrecognized Monuments of Shedsunefertem", JNES 39 (1980) 303-311.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Winged Reshep", JARCE 16 (1981) 157-166.
- Seton, D.R. The king of Egypt annihilating his enemies: a study in the symbolism of ancient monarchy. (Unpublished MA thesis, Birmingham: 1971-1972).

- Sharpe, S. Egyptian Inscriptions from the British Museum and Other Sources. 2nd series. (London: 1841).
- Simpson, W.K. The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13. (New Haven: 1974).
- Śliwa, J. "Some Remarks Concerning Victorious Ruler Representations", Forschungen und Berichte 16 (1974) 97-117.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Zagadnienie przedstawień zwycięskiego władcy w sztuce egipskiej" (The Problem of the Representations of the Victorious Ruler in the Egyptian Art), Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 330 (1973) 7-22.
- Smith, H.S. The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions. (London: 1970).
- Smith, R.W., and D.B.Redford, The Akhenaton Temple Project I. Initial Discoveries. (Warminster: 1976).
- Spalinger, A.J. "A Fragmentary Biography", The SSEA Journal 10 (1979-1980) 215-228.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study", JARCE 16 (1979) 29-47.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II", JNES 38 (1979) 276-281.
- Speelers, L. Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles. (Brussels: 1923).
- Spiegelberg, W. Aegyptische und Andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus den thebanischen Nekropolis. (Heidelberg: 1921).
- \_\_\_\_\_, B.Pörtner, and K.Dryoff, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen. 3 vols. (Strassburg: 1902-1906).
- Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Aegyptische Museum Berlin. (Berlin: 1967).

- Stadelmann, R. "Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in der thebanischen Totentempeln", MDAIK 29 (1973) 221-242.
- Steindorff, G. "Vier Grabstelen aus der Zeit Amenophis IV", ZaES 34 (1896) 63-69.
- Szafranski, Z.M. "Problematyka stel 2 drugiego okresu przejściowego pochodzących z Edfu, w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie" (Problems of Stelae of the Second Intermediate Period Originating from Edfu in the Collection of the National Museum of Warsaw), Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 24 (1980) 7-62.
- Tosi, R. and A. Roccati, Stele e altere epigraffi di Deir el Medina. (Turin: 1972).
- Trigger, B.G. "The Narmer Palette in Cross-Cultural Perspective", in M. Görg and E. Pusch, eds. Festschrift Elmar Edel 12 März 1979. (Bamberg: 1979) 409-419.
- Tylor, J.J. and F.L. Griffith, The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab. (London: 1894).
- Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums. IV. Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. (Leipzig and Berlin: 1927-1957).
- Vandier, J. Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. II-IV (Paris: 1954-1964).
- Vandier d'Abbadie, J. Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh (nos. 2256 a 2722) (Cairo: 1937).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh (nos. 2734 a 3053). (Cairo: 1959).
- Vercoutter, J. "Une campagne militaire de Seti I en Haute Nubie", Rev. d'Eg. 24 (1972) 201-208.
- Von Deines, H. "Das Gold der Tapferkeit: eine militärisch Auszeichnung oder eine Belohnung?", ZaES 79 (1954) 83-86.
- Wente, E.F. "Shekelesh or Shasu?", JNES 22 (1963) 167-172.

- Wiedemann, A. "On Some Egyptian Inscriptions in the Musée Guimet at Paris", PSBA 14 (1892) 332-335.
- Wildung, D. Die Rolle ägyptische Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt. I (Berlin: 1969).
- \_\_\_\_\_. Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt. (New York: 1977).
- Wilkinson, A. Ancient Egyptian Jewellery. (London: 1971).
- Wilkinson, J.G. The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians. 3 vols. new edition, revised by S. Birch. (New York: 1878).
- Williams, C.L.R. Gold and silver jewelry and related objects. (New York Historical Society: Catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities. Numbers 1-160). (New York: 1924).
- Wilson, J.A. "The Royal Myth in Ancient Egypt", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 100 nr. 5 (1956) 439-442.
- Wreszinski, W. Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. I-II (Leipzig: 1914-1935).
- Woldering, I. Ausgewählte Werke der ägyptischen Sammlung. 2nd ed. (Hannover: 1958).
- Yadin, Y. The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study. 2 vols. (New York: 1963).
- Youssef, A. Abd-El-Hamid, "Merneptah's fourth year Text at Amada", ASAE 58 (1964) 273-280.
- Yoyotte, J. "Les stèles de Ramses II à Tanis. Ier partie". Kemi 10 (1949) 60-74.
- Žába, Z. Les maximes de Ptahhotep. (Prague: 1956).
- Zibelius, K. Afrikanischer Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten. (Wiesbaden: 1972).
- Zivie, C.M. Giza au deuxième millénaire. (Cairo: 1976).

### Introduction

To tell the truth, while there have been some hundreds of studies of individual stelae and collections of monuments of this kind, these have usually been made from a single viewpoint, artistic, philological, historical, or religious, and have concerned themselves mainly, if not solely, with the particular stelae which were their subjects. There have been but very few investigations in depth on the subject of stelae in general, on their meaning and function, on their historical, psychological, or sociological perspectives and significance.<sup>1</sup> These considerations are usually dealt with only in short lexicon and dictionary articles.<sup>2</sup> Part of the problem and of the rationale for this is, undoubtedly, to be found in the attitude of Egyptological scholarship which has, traditionally, approached the material in the same way, considering it a conventional and commonplace feature of Ancient Egypt, primarily as an element and item in the mortuary cult of the deceased, in the case of private stelae, or as a vehicle for both the propagation and the recording of the king's acta and dicta, in the case of the royal ones.<sup>3</sup> However, in spite of the stereotyped pictorial and textual material found over and over again on the vast bulk of them, particularly on the private stelae, there are enough departures from the standard repertoire of their scenes, chiefly and most noticeably on the New Kingdom, non-royal stelae dating from the later part of the 18th Dynasty until the end of the 20th. There is even enough diversity in the treatment of individual details of those stelae whose scenes are taken directly from the stock repertoire so that we may well consider, in retrospect, if we should not be

asking new and different questions.

It is generally accepted that there are three basic classes or types of stela, funerary, votive, and commemorative-historical, each probably originally envisioned for a different function and purpose. The mortuary stela usually contained a representation of its deceased owner, normally seated before an offering table, often being worshipped by members of his family. A second, very common, pictorial motif showed the dead person adoring one or another of the gods. On virtually all funerary stelae, when a text was appended, it frequently included, among other things, the  $\text{h}^{\text{t}}\text{p}-\text{d}^{\text{i}}-\text{nswt}$  invocation for offerings and the well-being of the deceased in the Afterworld. The commemorative-historical stela was, basically, of royal origin and in its scene pictured the king engaged in some activity, usually religious in nature. Its text, often lengthy, recounted an achievement of the king, contained an encomium of him, or the like. The votive stela was, in its purest form, an expression of faith on the part of the worshipper toward a god, and its text indicated this faith in one way or another, as did also its scene. However, these three types of stelae frequently overlapped one another in the way that they were used. Often stelae which clearly are not funerary, but votive, commemorate an incident. At the same time, by virtue of their having been found in the tomb, or by virtue of the occasional pious wishes inscribed on them for the well-being of the ka of their owner (which, one assumes, were to be fulfilled in the Afterworld), it would appear that they, then, were also funerary to some extent.

It is a commonplace Egyptological truism that an essential feature of the ancient Egyptian's concept of the Afterworld



contained, for those who were fortunate enough to achieve life in it for Eternity, a repetitive continuation of their existence in this world, of their lives, deeds, benefits, rewards, and honours. Certainly, this is reflected, if not borne out, by the biographical (as opposed to the purely religious) scenes which decorated the walls of their tombs. And, indeed, one such scene, the mortuary repast, is, without question, also the most frequent scene found on funerary stelae. Others, however, on what are seemingly funerary stelae are not really tomb scenes, for they show the king, not the stela's owner, as the principal personage, usually in an act of worship or performing some ritual before one or more deities.<sup>4</sup> One may well ask why such a scene appears on a private mortuary or votive stela? By private stelae, I mean those which were commissioned by or dedicated to an individual other than the king, and for his own purposes, whatever these may have been. Such monuments, and these include rock-cut as well as free-standing stelae, are recognizable either from their texts, which often include the statement that the monument was "made by" so-and-so, and by the representation of their instigator, alone, or with members of his family, as part of the pictorial element. The main thrust of the present study will attempt to demonstrate that, in such cases where the pictorial element of a private stela seems to bear no relation to its text, the basic intent of the monument in question was neither funerary nor votive, but commemorative, and that the primarily royal scene (which usually has a counterpart somewhere on a wall in the temple) pictures, when it occurs on a private stela, a ceremony in which the king participated and one which the owner of the stela either witnessed in person, if it was a public affair, or else was among the

throng of spectators outside in the courtyard, if the ceremony was taking place inside the temple proper, in a part of it where the lay public was not admitted. In other words, such scenes recorded actual physical events which took place at specific points in time and which may, under certain circumstances, be utilized as reliable historical documents.

That private individuals could and did erect stelae which remembered specific events in their own lives is unquestioned. Elsewhere I have dealt with two, very clear, examples of this. The first of these is furnished by those stelae whose scene shows the processional bark of a deity, carried by its bearer-priests, being approached by the stela's owner in order to consult the oracle of the god, while the accompanying text, beginning with the exact date of the event, verbally narrates the incident.<sup>5</sup> The second instance illustrates one of the most important, if not the most important, part of the funeral ceremony, that in which the mummy of the deceased is undergoing the the ritual which will animate it and revivify the deceased in the Afterworld, the ritual of Opening-of-the-Mouth.<sup>5a</sup> In the chapters which follow, I shall deal with two other real situations, ceremonies in which the king figures, which are commemorated on private stelae. In some instances, the obvious indications and criteria for labelling certain of the stelae to be discussed as private stelae are lacking<sup>6</sup> and, at first glance, these would appear to be royal monuments. However, on careful analysis, it can be shown that they, too, are probably of a private origin. Of the two historical situations which will be studied, the first is concerned with what surely was a public holiday, the occasion and ceremony during which the Egyptian

king ritually executed captive enemy rulers in the presence of a god. The second event is more of a personal matter and commemorates the public honouring to the owners of the stelae by the king's own hand.

Footnotes:

1. The only studies known to me which even begin to tackle stelae from these aspects are K. Pflüger, "The Private Funerary Stelae of the Middle Kingdom and their Importance for the Study of Ancient Egyptian History", JAOS 67 (1947) 127-135, L. Matiegka, "Individual Characteristics of Figures on Egyptian Stelae", Archiv Orientalní 20 (1952) 15-27, W.K. Simpson, The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13. (New Haven: 1974), Z.E. Szafranski, "Problematyka stel 2 drugiego okresu przejściowego pochodzących z Bdfu w zbiorach Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie", Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie 24 (1980) 7-62 with summaries on 60-62. Of these, only the study of Matiegka deals with stelae from periods other than the Middle Kingdom.
2. E.g. LdAe VI (1985) 1-6, H.W. Helck and E. Otto, Kleines Wörterbuch der Aegyptologie (Wiesbaden: 1956) 357; J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. II (Paris: 1954) 389-534, J. Yoyotte apud G. Posener, ed., Dictionary of Egyptian Civilization. (New York: 1959) 271-272.
3. See, e.g. Yoyotte, loc. cit.
4. Which is not to say that the king does not appear in private tomb scenes, because he does, but in those situations which pertain to a personal relationship with the tomb owner: scenes of audience, reward, promotion, and the like. He does not, however, to my knowledge, appear in scenes which show him as the chief participant in a ceremonial rite in the temple, unless it be at Amarna. And even here the visit of the king to the temple of the Aton can be explained in

terms of its relationship to the duties of the tomb owners where it occurs.

5. See my "A Memphite Stela, the Bark of Ptah, and Some Iconographic Comments", Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar 2 (1980) 83-109 and especially 96-97 nn. 34-36, 103, and the stelae cited there.
- 5a. See my "The Iconographic Theme: 'Opening of the Mouth' on Stelae", JARCE 21 (1984) 169-196 and especially 175-177.
6. See below, chapter 1, Section B, stelae nrs. 2, 5, 7, 10, 12, and 13.

## Chapter 1. The Pharaoh Slays His Enemies

### A

The familiar motif of the victorious king slaughtering a vanquished enemy chief, usually in the presence of one or another of the gods, is attested in Egyptian art since the beginning of the 1st Dynasty, if not earlier.<sup>7</sup> An integral part of the royal myth and persona,<sup>8</sup> it recurs on the walls of the temples and palaces, on their gateways and pylons, columns and pillars.<sup>9</sup> It is carved on the sides of the cliffs of the border marches of Egypt and beyond, wherever Egyptian armies campaigned against the Asiatic and the Nubian, as a stark reminder of the power of Egypt and of the fate to be expected by the rebel.<sup>10</sup> Nor is it restricted to royal and monumental art. It is also found on a plethora of different kinds of lesser objects, royal and non-royal alike, ranging from scarabs, pectorals, and other types of jewelry, to weapons, artists' sketches, and stelae.<sup>11</sup> Its presence on royal stelae, both rock-cut and free-standing, is obvious and needs no further comment or discussion.<sup>12</sup>

On private stelae the occurrence of the motif of the triumphant pharaoh in the act of killing an enemy seems to be restricted to the later 18th Dynasty through the early 20th. At least, no epigraphically datable examples prior to the reign of Thutmose IV or later than that of Ramesses III are known to me. To date 19 instances of this genre of scene on private free-standing and rock-cut stelae, 5 of them unpublished, have been forthcoming (see below, Sections B-C), although, undoubtedly, there are still others, both published and unpublished, which I have either inadvertently overlooked, or the existence of which I am unaware.<sup>13</sup> Still, the 19 examples already collected, which

may be taken as a fair random sampling of the private stelae bearing this scene, provide, when studied as a group, sufficient material to allow us to draw a number of insights into their historical, artistic, and art-historical contexts, as well as to raise and possibly answer a number of previously unasked questions concerning their raison d'être. It should be noted, however, that this chapter will not address itself to the symbolic, religious, or philosophic concepts associated with or inherent in the motif. These aspects have already been dealt with previously by other scholars and are, to my knowledge, even the subject of yet to be published studies.<sup>14</sup>

In the treatment of the individual stelae which follows in Sections B and C, they have been arranged as far as it is possible in chronological sequence, with those whose date is not firmly assured by the presence of a royal name, being placed at the end, although, typologically, a somewhat different order could have been followed. No distinction has been made between those which are, patently, private stelae and those which probably are. The dimensions of most of those listed in Section B are relatively small, but one does approach a nearly monumental size.<sup>15</sup> Approximately half of them have the conventional round-topped shape.<sup>16</sup> The others are rectangular, with the scene framed by what is certainly a doorway or a gateway.<sup>17</sup> The scene itself is essentially the same for all 19 stelae and the general description of it which follows will not be repeated in the discussion of any of the individual pieces, even in the case of the 5 previously unpublished ones, save to note any variations.

On all of the stelae the king is pictured in the act of slaying an enemy captive, or group of captives,<sup>18</sup> in the presence

of one of the Egyptian gods, usually Ptah.<sup>19</sup> Striding and half-leaning forward, he grasps the prostrate victims, presumably defeated enemy rulers, by their hair with one hand, in order to steady their heads for the death blow which he is about to deliver with crushing force from the smiting weapon held in his other hand, this usually, either the maceaxe or the *ḥpš*-sword.<sup>20</sup> In most cases the king wears a headdress consisting of the short Nubian wig,<sup>21</sup> surmounted by a double-plumed disk which rests upon a pair of ram's horns, from which a disk-crowned uraeus rears up.<sup>22</sup> This headdress has, on occasion and probably wrongly, been interpreted or described as the atef-crown.<sup>23</sup> Not infrequently, the wig to which the uraeus has been affixed, is bound by a fillet, the end or ends of which hang down behind the wig like streamers.<sup>24</sup> The remainder of the king's dress usually comprises a short, knee-length kilt with apron or flap, held in place by a belt, and a broad collar around his neck.<sup>25</sup> The intended victim, whose nationality differs from stela to stela, is usually shown sunk down on one knee. His face is sometimes turned towards the king, sometimes away from him and toward the god. At least one of his hands is raised, either in a gesture of supplication for mercy, or else in a piteous and futile attempt to ward off his imminent fate.

## B

1. Stela Brussels E 4499, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 27 x 17 cm., texts and figures incised. Bibliography: W.M.F. Petrie, Memphis I (London: 1909) 7 and pls. 7 (photograph) and 8 nr. 4 (line drawing); L. Speelers, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire à Bruxelles (Brussels: 1923) 37 and 134 (text only). Part of



the text also published in Urk. IV, 1563. See also B.M. Bryan, The Reign of Tuthmosis IV (unpublished Yale PhD dissertation: 1980) 205 n. 61. (Fig. 1).

Rectangular in shape, the stela actually takes the form of an open portal. The doorway itself is recessed, its jambs and lintel projecting forward, while a cavetto cornice, now mostly broken away, caps the lintel.<sup>26</sup> Incised squarely in the center of the lintel is a pair of vertical cartouches, each surmounted by a pair of feathers and horns,<sup>27</sup> that on the left containing the prenomen "Menkheprure", that on the right the nomen "Thutmose".<sup>28</sup> Both jambs bear a vertical line of indifferently-carved hieroglyphs, each facing towards the opening of the doorway and each set within a rectangular frame which runs to the height of the jamb. The text on the left reads:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Son of Atum, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>29</sup> the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure, beloved of Amūn the king of the gods".

The text of the corresponding right jamb reads:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull,<sup>30</sup> the Son of Re, the lord of Diadems, Thutmose, [beloved of] Ptah the lord of Ma'at, the king of the Two Lands".

The smiting scene, which takes place in the presence of Ptah, is set within the aperture of the doorframe. The god is identified by a vertical line of text as "Ptah, the Great One, the lord of Ma'at". He is in a mummiform guise and, clutching a wꜣs-scepter, stands facing to the left, on a ma'at-shaped pedestal. At the left, facing him, is the king. His kilt is calf-length and a lion's tail is attached to the back of his belt. His weapon is the maceaxe. The enemy whom he is about to slay, a Libyan, to

judge from his phallic sheath, faces the god, but has turned his head towards the king, to whom he raises up his left arm in a useless gesture of supplication. All three figures stand on a ground line. The top of the scene has been set off by a double border line, so that a wide empty space intervenes between the top of the scene and the soffit of the lintel. Likewise, there is an even wider empty space between the ground line and the single horizontal line of text which runs between the jambs at the bottom of the stela and which is marked off by a border line. The text itself is damaged and only partly legible. It is clear, however, that it contained the title and name of the stela's dedicant:

"[Made by] the scribe?<sup>31</sup> in the house of gold?,<sup>32</sup>  
Ramosé,<sup>33</sup> granted life".

2. Stela Petrie, Riqqeh and Memphis VI (London: 1915) pl. 55 nr. 12, from Memphis, present location unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. Dimensions unknown, texts incised, figures in raised relief. Bibliography: Petrie, loc. cit. with a brief mention *ibid.* 33. See also Bryan, loc. cit. n. 60. (Fig. 2).

Rectangular in shape, the stela shows a portal, the lintel of which is capped by a cavetto cornice with the torus molding clearly preserved. The scene is set within the recessed aperture. At the left, Ptah, mummiform, stands in a naos which is set upon a ma'at-shaped pedestal and whose front side is suggested by the lower part of the combination w3s-ḥd-scepter which the god clutches. In the field within the naos, over the god's head, a short horizontal line of hieroglyphs names him "Ptah,<sup>34</sup> the lord of Ma'at". To the left of the shrine and facing it is the sacrificial scene. The lion's tail is attached to

the back of the king's belt. Along with the hair of the semi-supine captive, the king also holds a bow with his left hand. The victim, even more clumsily rendered than the other figures, faces the god, but his head is turned towards the king. One of his hands grasps the king's left arm as if to restrain it, and the other is raised helplessly. The only indication of his nationality is his beard which suggests that he is either a Libyan or an Asiatic. On a raised vertical panel in the field between the naos and the king's head is a cartouche, surmounted by the plumed, horned, sundisk and containing the prenomen "Menkheprure", granted life". In the field behind the king's back a short vertical line of raised hieroglyphs contains part of an apotropaic statement "all life and stability".<sup>35</sup> The entire tableau is set off by a raised rectangular border, which abuts the inner reveals of the jambs, but which is separated from the soffit of the lintel and from the bottom edge of the stela by a very broad, empty, field. Exactly how broad the lower of this pair of fields was, cannot be determined since the bottom of the stela is lost.

3. Stela Kestner Museum, Hannover, 1935.200.230, provenance unknown. Limestone, with minimal traces of red colour preserved. 21 x 14.5 cm. texts and scene incised. Bibliography: P. Munro, "Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Bildmetrik", Stadel-Jahrbuch N.F. 3 (1971) 35 fig. 32. (Fig. 3 and Pl. 1).

Both registers of this round-topped stela are framed by a border paralleling its outline. The sacrificial tableau fills the upper register. The king's weaponry consists of a  $h\bar{p}s$ -sword with which he is delivering the fatal blow, and a bow which he holds together with the hair of the two prostrate captives, a

Nubian and an Asiatic, who face him. The Asiatic raises one hand in a plea for mercy. The Nubian's two arms hang down at his sides, in resignation to his doom. The god in whose presence the execution is being carried out is "Ptah, the lord of Ma'at". He stands in a naos, the base of which is a ma'at-shaped pedestal, and the open front of which is indicated by the artist's simply not having continued the carving of its front wall from the level of the god's stomach up to the cornice just beneath its top.<sup>36</sup> In the field between the naos and the king's plumed, horned headdress, is a vertical cartouche reading "the good god, Menkheprure'". Behind his back is a vertical line reading: "Horus, powerful of arm".<sup>37</sup> A broad, double line separates the two registers, its upper edge simultaneously serving as the ground line for the figures in the upper one. In the lower register, facing right, a man, two women, and a second man, kneel in adoration to the ceremony depicted in the register above them. The first man offers a lighted brazier with one hand, the second man and the first woman each hold a single lotus flower in one hand. All three raise the other, and the second woman both, hands in the gesture of adoration. The first man wears a shoulder-length wig, the second is shaven-headed. Both are clad in long kilts. The left arm of the second man, the hand of which is holding the flower, is shown in front of his upward-bent left leg. Each of the two women wears an ankle-length dress, that of the second woman being somewhat more loosely-flowing. The surface of the stela in both of the registers is marred by scratches. In addition, it has been cracked by salt action, especially in the lower register, so that the short, sometimes deeply-incised, vertical inscriptions over the heads of

the four worshippers are obscured and somewhat difficult to read. Over the head of the first man and slightly in front of it is "Made by the hry-wr-priest".<sup>38</sup> His name, which is continued over the head of the first woman is damaged because of the scratches and the salt action, but appears to be "Iry".<sup>39</sup> The name and title of the first female seem to be written in the field between her left arm and abdomen. With difficulty the title can be read as "lady of the house", but the name is completely illegible. Over the head of the second woman is a clear "his sister" and in the field between her and the second man is her title, followed by her name. The title, damaged but legible, is "the lady of his house",<sup>40</sup> and the name appears to be "Tia",<sup>41</sup> with the determinative, for lack of space, written underneath the upraised arm of the second male. Finally, over this man's head is a clear "his sister" (sic!), followed by the common masculine name Ptahmose"<sup>42</sup> which, however, seems to have a feminine determinative written behind the nape of his neck.<sup>43</sup>

4. Stela Chicago Art Institute 1893.75,<sup>44</sup> provenance unknown.<sup>45</sup> Limestone, with no traces of colour. 14.4 x 23.8 cm. text and scene incised. Bibliography: Briefly described, but not illustrated in T.G. Allen, A Handbook of the Egyptian Collection (Chicago: 1923) 41, and mentioned by Bryan, op. cit. 251. (Fig. 4 and Pl. 2).

In the shape of a gateway with the cavetto cornice and torus molding in raised relief, the stela is comprised of two registers which are deeply recessed within the gate's aperture. The upper left corner of the lintel is lost. The surface of the upper right corner is chipped away. In addition, the left corner of the soffit is chipped away with slight damage to the beginning of

the text of the left jamb. In the center of the lintel, beneath the torus molding and facing to the right, are two vertical cartouches containing, respectively, the prenomen "Menkheprure" and the nomen "Thutmose". The vertical column of text on each jamb faces inward, towards the aperture. That on the right reads:

"The good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menkheprure', the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Thutmose, beloved of Ptah".

The text of the left jamb is identical, save that it substitutes the name of "Amūnre" for that of Ptah. The smiting scene is in the upper of the two registers. The inner ribbing of the feathers of the king's headdress are indicated. He also wears a double-stranded broad collar and the ends of his belt are shown on each side of the wide, triangular apron of his calf-length kilt. His weapon is the  $\text{ḥps}$ -sword. He holds a single prisoner, an Asiatic who wears a long robe, has long hair, but, apparently, no beard.<sup>46</sup> The prisoner's head and arms are turned to the left, towards the king, but his kneeling body faces the god Ptah who, in his usual mummiform guise, is shown standing inside a closed naos,<sup>47</sup> this resting on a  $\text{ma'at}$ -shaped pedestal. A side-curtain within the naos is summarily suggested by a single curved line at the height of the god's chest. Vertically, in the field behind the king's back, is a lotus-headed fan, the shaft of which terminates in the archaic form of the cartouche. The entire scene of the upper register is roofed over by the sky-hieroglyph. This rests upon two supports, that at the right incorporating the back of the naos.<sup>48</sup> Inside the shrine, in the field before his head, the name of Ptah is writ-

ten retrograde.<sup>49</sup> In the field between the top of the naos and the feathers of the king's headdress "Lord of the Two Lands" is written vertically.<sup>50</sup> Likewise, vertically to the left of the left support of the sky-hieroglyph there seem to be traces of a column of text, but this may only be caused by pits on the surface of the stone and by shadows thrown on it by the raised left jamb.<sup>51</sup> The figures and naos stand on a ground line which also serves as the register divider. Beneath this, facing to the right, a woman and a man, respectively, kneel with their hands raised in adoration to the scene above.<sup>52</sup> The woman wears a long wig which covers her left shoulder and reaches to the small of her back. Her sleeved dress is very loose and diaphanous. The man, shaven-headed and bare to the waist, wears an ankle-length kilt. Two horizontal lines above his navel may indicate the muscles of his chest. In front of the woman, between her upraised arms and her bent knee, is her name: "Ya".<sup>53</sup> Behind her head is her title: "lady of the house". Two vertical lines of text behind the man read:

"Made by the w' b-priest of Ptah, Bestu,<sup>54</sup> who will be revered and justified".

There may be some additional traces after this.<sup>55</sup>

5. Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 64.285, provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 5.8 x 7.8 cm., text and scene incised. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 5 and Pl. 3).

The original shape of the stela cannot be determined, inasmuch as part of its left side, running diagonally from approximately just above the upper left corner to the center of the top is lost, as is also the upper right corner. The design

consists of a scene framed by a gateway or a doorway, but with the corners of the stela missing, it is impossible to say whether the trace of a horizontal line at the top is merely the top of the portal's lintel, or whether it is the soffit of an otherwise missing cornice, although the latter is more likely. Each jamb rests upon a platform which is bisected at the central axis of the aperture by a stairway(?) with sidewalls.<sup>56</sup> The top of this platform projects in a cornicelike overhang, beneath which is an additional molding. The tops of the ends of the stairway's sidewalls have a similar cornicelike overhang. Only a single step of the stair itself is shown, since the entire architectural complex is cut off by a base line. In the tableau which occupies the central axis of the gateway, Ptah, mummiform and holding a w3s-scepter with both hands stands on a m3't-shaped pedestal. The king, wearing a long kilt with pendant apron faces him and offers the sacrifice. The break at the left side of the stela has carried away his upraised right hand along with the shaft of the smiting weapon which it held. Nevertheless, it is clear from what remains that the weapon was the hpš-sword rather than the maceaxe. A rather deep gouge in the surface of the stone has destroyed the details of the king's right foot and weathering has obliterated the outline of his left leg, buttocks, and the small of his back. Both of the pair of enemies whom he is about to sacrifice to Ptah kneel towards the god, but one of them has swiveled his hips around so that his torso, his head, and his right arm face the king, with his right hand raised in a vain gesture of supplication. Even though a pit in the stone slightly obscures the details of his valanced wig, it is apparent that ethnically he is a Nubian. The nationality of the second sacrificial victim is equally as clear.



Although the details of his dress are damaged and obscure, his rather full, pointed, beard marks him out as an Asiatic, and this, when coupled with what looks to be a shaven head suggests that his homeland was Mitanni.<sup>57</sup> The entire tableau is enclosed by a rectangular frame, the bottom of which serves as the ground line for the humans and also for the pedestal upon which the god stands. The top of this frame is broken by the plumes of the king's headdress, the curved blade of his sword, and probably by his now-lost right hand. In the field beneath the top border line and the heads of the prisoners a pair of vertical cartouches contain, respectively, the prenomen "Djeserkheprure" and a badly mangled form of the nomen "Horemheb".<sup>58</sup> Over the head of the god is "Ptah, the Lord of Ma'at". Beneath the cartouche with the royal nomen and facing to the right is a very deeply-incised "strength". In the field above the top border, between the king's plumes and the reveal of the right jamb, is the sky-hieroglyph, elongated and very deeply cut. Above and below the framed scene are the by-now familiar wide, blank fields, that underneath being wider than that above.

6. Stela Louvre E 16373, from Deir el-Medineh. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 32.2 x 34 cm. text and figures incised. Bibliography: B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940) (Cairo: 1940) 39 and pl. 38 nr. 1, 62-64 with fig. 4. (Fig. 6).

Round-topped, the stela has two register framed by a border which parallels its outline. The upper register contains the sacrificial scene showing the king slaughtering three captives. No god is present. In addition to his usual costume, the king wears a square, false beard. No lion's tail is attached to

his belt, but a pair of sundisk-crowned uraei adorn the ends of the pendant apron of his ankle-length kilt. The king's weapon is a pear-shaped mace. Of the three kneeling enemies, a Nubian, a Syrian, and another Asiatic,<sup>59</sup> one faces away from him, the other two toward him, all three with a hand, one with both hands, raised in a gesture of supplication. In the field over their heads, framed within a rectangle, the top edge of which has the shape of the sky-hieroglyph, are two vertical lines of text, facing left and reading:

"the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', granted life".

In the field behind the king's back a single vertical line reads:

"The protection of life, stability, and good fortune is behind him".

A reed mat which serves as the ground line for the figures of the upper register also separates it from the lower one. In this, at the left and facing right, a man kneels with his hands raised in the gesture of adoration. He wears a long, braided wig, a multiple-stranded broad collar, a sleeved upper-garment, and a long kilt with a wide, pleated, triangular apron. Before him is a text of six vertical lines of well-incised hieroglyphs, reading:

"Giving praise by the scribe in the Place of Eternity, Ramose,<sup>60</sup> to the lord of the Two Lands, He who lives on Ma'at, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Rameses-mi'amūn, granted life, that he may give to me a beautiful lifetime in the Place of Truth".

7. Stela Florence Museo Archeologico 2587, provenance unknown. Limestone, no traces of colour preserved. 23 x 27 cm.

figures in sunken relief. Bibliography: S. Bosticco, Museo Archeologico di Firenze: Le stele egiziane del Nuovo Regno (Florence: 1965) 57 nr. 49 and pl. 49 nr. 1; I. Rosellini, Oggetti di antichità egiziane riportati dalla spedizione letteraria toscana in Egitto e in Nubia (Florence: 1830) nr. 58; W. Berend, Principaux monuments de Musée Egyptien de Florence (Paris: 1882) 84-85 with a fig. on 84. For additional bibliography, see Bosticco, loc. cit. (Fig. 7).

Only the lunette containing the scene of this round-topped stela is preserved. From the published photograph one gains the impression that the stela, at some time, had been cut down and somewhat foreshortened. At the right, facing left, is the king. Although the details of his coiffure are obliterated, since he wears the plumed, horned disk, it is most probable that he also wore the short Nubian wig. A uraeus is faintly visible on his brow and the texture of the stone behind the back of his head and immediately beneath his upraised left arm suggests that a pendant streamer was also affixed to the headdress. His chest is covered by a short-sleeved jerkin, the crossed ties of which are visible on his midriff. His short, pleated kilt is of an archaic pattern and is held in place by an elaborate belt. He wears the false beard, a pair of armllets and bracelets on his biceps and wrists, and a double-stranded broad collar. The kneeling, suppliant prisoner whom he grasps by the hair is a Libyan, nude save for a decorated belt, a pair of similarly-decorated crossbands over his chest, and a pair of armllets and bracelets. The god before whom the sacrifice takes place is Ptah, behind whom is an elaborate bouquet of lotus flowers. No trace of any inscription is evident today, but according to the

publications, originally there was a line of text identifying the king as Merneptah.<sup>61</sup> There are some scratches in the field behind his back which may be the remains of this. Traces of a reed mat are visible beneath the right foot of the prisoner, the pedestal of Ptah, and the bouquet of lotus flowers. This served as a ground line for the tableau and simultaneously separated it from whatever text and scene might have existed on the now-missing lower part of the stela.

8. Stela Cairo JE 88879, from Qantir. Sandstone, with no traces of colour. 90 x 40 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: L. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance", ASAE 52 (1952) 507-514 and pl. 29. (Fig. 8).

Both the scene above and the text below of this round-topped stela are framed by a border which parallels the outline of the stone. In the lunette, over the head of the king, is a sundisk with a pair of pendant uraei. The king wears the Blue Crown with uraeus in front and pendant streamers behind. The lion's tail is affixed to his belt. His weaponry consists of a ḥpš-sword, which he is wielding with his right hand, and a bow, which he holds in his left as he grasps the hair of two kneeling, suppliant prisoners, its lower half concealed by their heads and bodies. Habachi described these prisoners as Asiatics, with no further specification.<sup>62</sup> Yet the features of the captive facing the god seem to me to be clearly Libyan,<sup>63</sup> an impression also suggested by the traces of what appears to be a band of cloth running diagonally across his chest from his left side to his right shoulder.<sup>64</sup> Centered in the field over the heads of the pair of victims are two vertical cartouches reading:

"the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-mi'amūn,

the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-hikaon".

The god in whose presence the sacrifice is taking place is represented as an anthropomorphic deity in Asiatic garb. He wears the tall, conical crown from which a long, tassel hangs down almost to the ground line. His short, striped kilt is fringed at its hem. In his left hand he holds a wꜣs-scepter and with his right he offers a ḥpš-sword to the king. The field above and in front of his head, where his identifying adscription was, is damaged and nothing can be read there, so that his identity must be adduced from his iconography. Habachi was certainly correct in identifying him as Seth.<sup>65</sup> Below the ground line on which all of the figures stand and which serves to separate the scene above from it is a text of 6 horizontal lines of hieroglyphs, facing to the left and reading:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, Great of Kingship, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies, Great of Festivals like Tatenen,<sup>66</sup> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-mi'amun, the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-hikaon, granted life. Now his majesty commanded that there be given fields, 16 arouras,<sup>67</sup> as a reward<sup>68</sup> to the shield-bearer, the one from the foreign land, Wosimare'-nakht,<sup>69</sup> who will be justified, in the district of the town of Kheriu,<sup>70</sup> its water-source<sup>71</sup> being the Well of Smentowe".<sup>72</sup>

9. Stela Kestner Museum, Hannover, 1935.200.229, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 16 x 11.2 cm. figures in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Petrie, Memphis I 18-19 and pl. 8 nr. 3;<sup>73</sup> Bryan, loc. cit. n. 61.<sup>74</sup>

(Fig. 9).

Both registers are framed by a border paralleling the outline of this round-topped stela. The surface has suffered somewhat because of weathering, with damage to the lower bodies of the prisoners in the upper register, and to the right arm and face of the worshipper in the lower. Portions of the stone, at the upper left side, at the beginning of the curve of the top, and from the lower left side of the bottom up to about one quarter of the height of the upper register, are missing. The sacrificial scene fills the upper register. Over the king's head, damaged, a falcon deity hovers, its wings protectively outspread. Vertically, in the field behind the king's back, is the statement "the protection of all life like Re'" which, coupled with its physical position, is to be completed ("is behind him"). The king's weaponry consists of the maceaxe with which he is smiting the captives, and a bow which he holds in his left hand along with their hair. The victims are a Nubian and an Asiatic. The god in whose presence the sacrifice is taking place is Ptah, who stands in a naos, the base of which is not on the ground, but rather floats above the outstretched leg of one of the prisoners. Over their heads, in the field between the protective falcon and the naos is an unfinished inscription. A rectangular panel which would have taken a pair of cartouches containing the king's nomen and prenomen has been left blank. Above it, facing the naos in two lines, continued by a third below it, is:

"the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, the Son of  
Re', the lord of Diadems, granted life like Re'".

The lower register shows a man and a woman, facing to the right, kneeling in adoration. The man, wearing the short "military"

wig<sup>75</sup> and a long, elaborately pleated kilt, has both hands raised. The woman, most of whose body is damaged in back, wears a pleated garment, a cone of perfumed fat on her fillet-bound wig, and rattles a sistrum with her left hand.<sup>76</sup> Before the pair is a text of two vertical lines which fills the height of the register and is continued over their heads in 6 single square high lines, the last of which is illegible, but which probably contained a determinative. The text reads:

"Giving praise to Ptah and kissing the earth to his ka."<sup>77</sup>

Made by the overseer of weavers, Ramose, (and) his sister, the lady of the house, Taiat<sup>78</sup> [--]".

10. Stela Kestner Museum, Hannover, 1935.200.204, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 17 x 9 cm. an-epigraphic(?), scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: Petrie, Memphis I 7 and pl. 8 nr. 2;<sup>79</sup> Bryan, loc. cit. (Fig. 10).

The outline of the stela is that of a rectangular gateway or doorway whose cavetto cornice is actually molded in raised relief. The scene is enclosed by a frame whose upper and lower borders fill the width of the portal's aperture, but whose right and left borders are separated from the reveals of the jambs by a narrow space. A broad, empty field is between the top of the frame and the soffit of the lintel, and an even broader, rectangular field, this time containing 4 human ears,<sup>80</sup> fills the space between the bottom border and the bottom edge of the stela. The god before whom the king is making the sacrifice is Ptah. Although Petrie's drawing shows no traces of any inscription, I can barely discern, on my own photograph of the stela, the surface of which is pitted and weathered here, the mostly-illegible traces of a short vertical line of hieroglyphs,

the last of which seems to be the nh-bird. If I am correct, then the line is undoubtedly to be restored "(Ptah, the one who hears) prayers", the moreso in view of the 4 ears below.<sup>81</sup> Likewise, there may be something in the field between the head of the god and the head of the king, but the surface of the stone is so pitted and cracked here, that any attempt to read or restore a text is fruitless. Petrie's drawing also shows the king smiting a single prisoner with his hpš-sword, but, again, a careful examination of my own photograph suggests that there may have been more. I seem to see 2 bodies facing one another and at least 3 legs extended outwards in different directions.

11. Stela Brussels E 2386, purchased at Giza and presumably from the Memphite area. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 18 x 19.3 cm. text incised, figures in sunken relief. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 11 and Pl. 4).

Only the lower part of the stela is preserved, but it is clear that it originally had the shape of a rectangular portal whose lintel, cornice, most of the left jamb, and part of the right jamb are now lost. In addition, an almost square chunk has been chipped off the surface of the lower left corner. The jambs are set on a platform and the aperture of the portal is reached via a staircase of which only one step is represented and which has no sidewalls. On the outer side of each jamb is a pillar or flagpole. That on the right rests on a base and has a streamer wrapped around its lower part. A corresponding base for the left pillar is no longer preserved, but may not have been as high as that on the right side, since the tip of a human ear is visible just above the break, with another, fully-preserved ear above it. If there had been a streamer wrapped



around this pillar to correspond with that on the right, it would have been on a now-lost part of the stela. Standing on the base of the right pillar, his hands raised in adoration towards the the tableau visible within the aperture, is a shaven-headed male worshipper, wearing a long calf-length kilt with a wide flaring triangular apron and, perhaps, some sort of pectoral, of which the right upper corner is visible on his chest, just below the hollow of the throat, the rest being hidden by his left biceps. Above his head, vertically, is part of, if not his complete name: "Ashahebsed".<sup>82</sup> Both the name, his dress and shaven head, as well as the general style of the stela, suggest a Ramesside date. The diagonal fracture of the stone has resulted in, not only the loss of whatever text may have preceded Ashahebsed's name, but also the upper part of the scene, including the upraised arm of the king, the weapon which it wielded, and his headdress, although we may assume that it was the plumed, horned, disk, since the lower part of the short Nubian wig on which this was worn is still visible. Also lost is the face of the king, the upper torso and head of the god, the top of the latter's scepter, and the empty field which separated the scene from the soffit of the lintel. The prisoner who is being executed has sunk down on his knees, his head facing the deity, but with his right hand raised in supplication to the king. Although his facial features are indeterminate, his short wig, the band of cloth wrapped over one shoulder, and, particularly, his phallic sheath, indicate that he is a Libyan. The deity, clearly Ptah, stands on the ground line rather than on his usual pedestal. Beneath this ground line and the top of the stair at the bottom of the stela is a broad, empty field.

12. Stela Egyptian Museum, Berlin, DDR, 20912, purchased in Luxor, provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 23 x 18.5 cm. anepigraphic, scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 12 and Pl. 5).

No border parallels the outline of this round-topped stela, but a clearly-preserved doorway runs vertically for almost its entire height, from the bottom to halfway above the curve of the shoulder, and the torus molding at the top of the lintel extends horizontally to touch the stela's outer edges. The cornice, lintel, and jambs are all of equal thickness, as is the platform on which the jambs stand. This shows no separation between the bottoms of the jambs and its upper surface, almost as if it were a threshold. The scene, which is framed by the doorway, occupies the upper three-fifths of the aperture, the soffit of the lintel serving as its upper border. The usual broad empty field is present between the base of the scene and the top of the platform. The king's knee-length kilt is pleated. His weaponry consists of the maceaxe which he is brandishing and a bow which he holds in the hand which steadies the heads of two captives. These are an Asiatic, who faces him, and a Nubian, who faces the god in whose presence the sacrifice is being performed. This latter, Ptah, is shown in his usual mummiform guise, holding a was-scepter and standing on a pedestal. Unlike the feet of the king and of the prisoners, the pedestal does not rest on the wide ground line.

13. Stela Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 423.1908, from Memphis. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 14.6 x 12.4 cm. anepigraphic, scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: Petrie, Memphis I 7 and pls. 7 and 8 nr. 1. (Fig. 13).

The scene is framed by a border paralleling the outline of the stela's round top. The king wears the short, valenced Nubian wig, with a uraeus on his forehead, but not the plumed, horned disk. His weapon is the *ḥpš*-sword. The captive being sacrificed is a Nubian. The deity, Ptah, is shown in his usual mummiform guise, but without a beard. In the field between the king and the god, facing the king, a falcon deity hovers with its wings spread protectively towards the king.

14. Stela Newark Museum 29.1788, provenance unknown, purchased in Cairo. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 18.9 x 14 cm. scene partly in sunken relief, partly incised, text incised. Bibliography: previously unpublished. (Fig. 14 and Pl. 6).

The scene and text of this small stela are set within a border paralleling its outline, round-topped. Occupying slightly more than half of the left side and running virtually the entire height of the stela is a gateway with cavetto cornice and torus molding. On the lintel of this gateway, which is very clearly delineated from the tops of the jambs, very faint traces of, perhaps, an inscription seem to be visible.<sup>83</sup> The tableau of the smiting king, framed by a double line at the top and a single line below, occupies most of the upper half of the aperture of the gate, with only a small, blank field above, and with the entire bottom half of the opening serving as the empty field below. The king is at the left, wearing a knee-length kilt with pendant apron and, as a headdress, what seems to be the plumed, horned disk, with uraei rearing up from the horns, but these details are quite obscure. His weapon is the *ḥpš*-sword which he swings with his upraised right arm, while he grasps the prisoner

by his topknot with his left. The nationality of the latter is impossible to determine, for the details of his head and face are not visible. Nor, for that matter, is the position of his arms clear, although from the position of his legs, bent at the knees and facing to the right, it is clear that the captive's body was facing the god. The deity is Ptah, in his usual mummy-form guise, holding a was-scepter and standing on a pedestal. The pedestal, the prisoner's outstretched legs and the king's right leg all rest on the line framing the bottom of the scene, but the king's somewhat foreshortened left leg looks as if it were resting on the hollow of the prisoner's left knee. The field to the right of the gateway contains the figure of a worshipper below and, what at first sight, seems to be 2 vertical lines of text above. The worshipper, a male, wearing apparently the so-called "military" wig, cut away in a pronounced vee at the nape of the neck, kneels with both hands raised in the gesture of adoration to the scene taking place within the aperture of the gateway. He is obviously wearing a kilt, the waistline of which is marked off, but its other details are not at all so visible. His left knee and the toes of his left foot, the sole of his right foot, and the 2 jambs of the gateway all sit upon a double ground line which extends in each direction to the side borders of the stela. This may very well represent a platform. Although 2 vertical columns had been prepared for a text over the adorant's head, only the first of these contains an inscription which, however, runs horizontally for a single hieroglyph, the determinative of the worshipper's name, into the last square of the second column. A large break has chipped away most of the surface of the upper part of both columns, but what is not

damaged in the lower portion of the second shows that, with the exception just noted at the bottom of the column, it never contained an inscription. The text of the first column reads:

"Hail [to y]ou,<sup>84</sup> O Ptah! Made by Hori".<sup>85</sup>

### C

Thus far, only free-standing private stelae with the scene of the king smiting his enemies in the presence of a deity have been noted. We must now take into consideration those private stelae which are rock-cut which have the same motif. As before, the criteria used to establish the non-royal origin of such monuments are the inclusion of a representation of the dedicator and/or a statement to the effect that it was "made by" him.<sup>86</sup> However, unlike my treatment of the free-standing stelae in Section B above, I have by no means attempted to deal with every example of the private rock-cut stelae with this theme known to me here, although I have included the majority of them. For those which I have omitted, see the Appendix.<sup>87</sup>

Actually, the distinction which I make between these 2 types of stela is, for the most part, academic. Both had no mortuary function, but were obviously commemorative in intent. Both have similar, if not identical, shapes and composition (except that the rock-cut stelae often have almost monumental dimensions). While I have no real explanation as to why some of the dedicators preferred the rock-cut version over the free-standing, it might be noted that, in the instances included below, they were officials of a much higher rank than were the men who commissioned the free-standing stelae. This does suggest that they may have had much more wealth and resources at their disposal and, consequently, were able to afford the more

lavish variant of the monument.<sup>88</sup>

As in the preceding Section, the rock-cut stelae are ordered here in a chronological sequence on the basis of the royal names which they bear. All are Ramesside, starting with Seti I and ending with Amenmesse. The scene is that described for the free-standing stelae and only variants in detail will be noted in the description of the individual items.

15. Rock-cut stela, west side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: J. De Morgan, Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I (Cairo: 1894) 20 nr. 124; KRI I, 303; L. Habachi, "The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroy of Kush in the Region of Aswan", Kush 5 (1957) 27. For earlier publications, see PM V, 247. (Fig. 15).

In the upper of the two registers, the king, wearing a simple bag wig and a short kilt of an archaic pattern, grasps a kneeling prisoner by the hair. The weapon which he wields is the maceaxe. The nationality of the prisoner cannot be determined from De Morgan's drawing. No deity is present. Slightly before and over the king's head is a sundisk from which a pair of uraei emanate, with 'nhs looped around their throats. Over the head of the slaughtered victim is a pair of vertical cartouches containing, respectively, the prenomen "Menmare'" and the nomen "Seti-merneptah". In the lower register, beneath the captive and facing toward the king, a man, wearing a long kilt and no wig, stands with both hands raised in adoration to the king. In are 3 vertical lines of text, reading:

"Giving praise to your ka, O victorious and triumphant king, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare', granted life like Re'. (Made by) the first charioteer

of his majesty, the king's son of Kush, Amenemope".<sup>89</sup>

16. Rock-cut stela, east side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: De Morgan, op. cit. I, 28 nr. 5; KRI I, 302; Habachi, op. cit. 27. For earlier publications, see PM V, 245. (Fig. 16).

At the right, facing to the left, the king, wearing a simple bag wig and an archaic type of kilt, grasps a kneeling enemy of indeterminate nationality by the hair, to steady him as he deals the death blow with his  $\text{ḥpš}$ -sword. No deity is present, but, at the right, facing the tableau, a man, wearing a long kilt, kneels in adoration. An ostrich-feather fan, his badge of office,<sup>90</sup> is attached to his belt(?) by two cords. In the field above and between the prisoner and the adorant, facing to the left, a pair of vertical cartouches and a short, horizontal line of text identify the king as;

"the good god, the lord of the Two Lands, Menmare',  
the Son of Re', the lord of Diadems, Seti-merneptah,  
granted life forever and ever".

Beneath the scene, facing in the same direction as the worshipper, 2 horizontal lines of text identify the latter as:

"the fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, the  
overseer of the Southern Land, Amenemope, who will  
will be justified".

17. Rock-cut stela, east side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: De Morgan, op. cit. I, 29 nr. 12; KRI I, 302; Habachi, op. cit. 27. For earlier publications, see PM V, 246.

Although only the feet of the king are preserved, their striding pose has led both Habachi and Kitchen to assume, un-

doubtedly correctly, that what is preserved is part of the smiting scene. Below the feet are the remains of a single horizontal line of text, reading:

"[-----], the overseer of the Southern Land, the king's son of Kush, Amenem[ope]".

18. Rock-cut double stela, to the south of the great temple of Abu Simbel (nr. 24). Bibliography: LD III, pl. 195 b,c; LD V, pl. 167; KRI III, pp. 104-106. Collated with my own photographs. For additional bibliography, see PM VIII, 118. (Fig. 17).

a. The north (right-hand) stela:

In 2 registers which are separated by 4 horizontal lines of text, the body of the stela is deeply recessed within a rectangular frame, the left-hand column of which is also shared by the adjoining south stela. In the center of the frame's top is the winged sundisk with "the Behdetite, the great god" on either side. The right and left jambs of the frame contain identical sets of the king's titulary, differing only in the qualifying epithet after the nomen. These texts read:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'-amūn, the Beloved of Amūnre' (var: of Horus, the Lord of Buhen), granted life".

In the scene itself the king, wearing the Blue Crown from which a streamer dangles down in back,<sup>91</sup> wields the maceaxe with one hand, while the other grasps the hair of a pair of prostrate prisoners, Asiatics, to judge from their features.<sup>92</sup> Behind the king's upraised left arm a winged sundisk with a single pendant uraeus hovers protectively. The god Amūn, wearing his double-



plumed crown, faces the king and offers him a ḥpš-sword. In front of the deity's head a pair of vertical lines of text read:

"Words spoken by Amūnre', Lord of Karnak: '(I) have given to you all valour and all victory'."

In the field between Amūn and the prisoners, a single vertical line of text records that what is happening is "the crushing the chiefs of wretched Kush".<sup>93</sup> Before the king's head, his prenomen and nomen are repeated:

"the lord of the Two lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn, granted life like Re'".

In the field between the back of the king's head and his upraised arm is "Horus, the Lord of Power". Behind the king's back is his Horus-name in a serekh, personified by being mounted on a pole whose butt is the archaic form of the cartouche and from which a pair of arms emanate, the right hand holding a pole capped by a bearded head, the left grasping a ḥw-fan.<sup>94</sup> Beneath this scene, 4 horizontal lines of text which separate it from the lower register read:

"Year 38 under the majesty of the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the lord of Festivals like his Father, Ptah-tatenen, the Favorite of the Two Ladies, the one who protects Egypt, who captures the foreign lands, Re' who engendered the gods, who established the Two Lands, the Horus of Gold, Rich of Years, Great of Victories, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, the Master of the Ritual, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', of his body, his beloved, the lord of Diadems, the one who grasps the White Crown,

Ramesses-mi'amūn, granted life and eternity upon the throne of Horus".

In the lower register, at the left, a man wearing an ankle-length kilt with a long, pleated, triangular apron, and holding an ostrich-feather fan of office with one hand, raises the other in a gesture of salutation. A text of 7 vertical lines before him reads:

"The king's son of Kush, Setau,<sup>95</sup> says: 'May your father, Amūn, protect you with life, good fortune, and stability! May he grant you Eternity as king and Forever upon the throne of Horus'! Made by the king's son of Kush, the overseer of the Southern Lands, the steward of Amūn, the royal scribe, Setau".

b. The south (left-hand) stela:

The arrangement and composition of the south stela duplicates that of the north stela. In the center of the frame, at the top, is the winged sundisk, flanked by "the Behdetite, the great god". The vertical texts on the jambs, starting with that on the left, read:

"The Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the lord of Festivals like his father, Ptah-tatenen, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn'.

In the smiting scene of the upper register, the king wears the short wig and plumed, horned sundisk.<sup>96</sup> His weapon is the mace-axe. He holds a single, kneeling, cringing prisoner, apparently a Nubian, to judge from his physiognomy. The god in whose presence the execution is taking place, Horus, human-bodied and falcon-headed, wears the Double Crown and offers the king a ḥpš-

sword. A single vertical line before the deity, intersected by his outstretched arm, reads:

"Words spoken by Horus, Lord of Buhen: '(I) have given to you every victory against the South, every triumph against the North'."

Before the king is his titulary:

"the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn".

Behind the king is his ka in the form of a personified serekh containing his Horus-name.

The 4 horizontal lines of hieroglyphs which separate the 2 registers are identical to those of the north stela, except that the epithets "Master of the Ritual" in line 3 and "of his body, his beloved" and "the one who grasps the White Crown" in line 4 are omitted. The epithet following the nomen is also different, here being "granted life like Re'".

The only difference in the scene of the lower register is that Setau raises both hands in the gesture of adoration and that his badge of office, the ostrich-feather fan, is missing. However, the 7 vertical lines of text which precede him are quite different in content and tenor from those on the north stela:

"Giving praise to the good god, kissing the earth for the lord of the Two Lands, by the ka of the prince and the god's father, beloved of the god, the privy counselor of the house of the king, the eyes of the Upper Egyptian king, the ears of the Lower Egyptian king, the intimate of the Horus in his house, the king's son of Kush, Setau".

19. Rock-cut stela to the south of the great temple of Abu

Simbel (nr. 22). Bibliography: Habachi, "King Amenmesse and V1z-  
iers Amenmose and Kha'emtore: Their Monuments and Place in History", MDAIK 34 (1979) 63 fig. 4; LD III, pl. 204 c. See also PM  
VII, 118.

Set within a rectangular frame representing a doorway, with a cavetto cornice and torus molding executed in high relief, the two registers of the stela are deeply recessed. In the center of the lintel, beneath the molding, is the hieroglyph 'nh which is shared as the initial word by 2 virtually identical texts which then continue vertically on the jambs. That on the left reads:

"Long live the good god, the lord of the Two Lands,<sup>97</sup>  
Wosikheprure'-mi'amūn,<sup>98</sup> granted life,<sup>99</sup> the good god,  
the lord of the Two Lands, Wosikheprure'-mi'amūn, the  
lord of Diadems, Seti-merneptah, beloved of Amūnre',  
the king of the gods".<sup>100</sup>

The sacrificial scene occupies the upper register. The king wears the White Crown and wields a pear-shaped mace. The kneeling, suppliant whom he is about to smite seems to be a Nubian. The god before whom the latter is being ceremonially murdered is Amūn. He is offering the king a ḥpš-sword. Over and behind the king's head a vulture hovers protectively. In the field in front of and over the deity's head are 2 vertical lines of text, with a third beneath the god's outstretched arm. These read:

"Words spoken by Amūnre', the king of the gods: 'I give  
your ḥpš-sword to you [in order to crush] every land'."

In the field before and over the king's head are his cartouches:

"The good god, Wosikheprure'-mi'amūn, Seti-merneptah".

Behind his back is:

"Horus, powerful of arm, lord of the ḥpš-sword".

In the lower register, at the left, a man, wearing a long kilt, kneels with both hands raised in the gesture of adoration. Before him are 6 horizontal lines of text, the first 2 of which run the entire width of the stela, the remaining 4 being somewhat shorter. These read:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the one who establishes the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosikheprure'-mi'amūn, the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the good god, powerful with his ḥpš-sword, Hero, Valiant like Montu, the lord of strength like the son of Nut, Great of Terror like Amūn, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt,<sup>101</sup> Wosikheprure'-mi'amūn, the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the ruler of Thebes, [the Beloved of] Amūnre', the ruler of the gods, granted life like Re'".

At the end of the last pair of these lines, in front of and over the adorant's head a vertical and horizontal line, with another horizontal line behind his back, identify him and record that the stela was "made by the legate, Mery, of Wawat".<sup>102</sup>

#### D

The scene common to all of these stelae contains the royal motif of the triumphant king slaying enemies in the presence of a god, but this is a motif which one really should not expect to find on a private monument. And, in fact, although several were certainly commissioned privately by the people who are pictured and/or named on them,<sup>103</sup> the majority, at first glance, would seem to be royal, rather than private monuments. Such an assumption, however, is rather misleading. It should be noted

that on the indisputable royal stelae of this genre, rock-cut and free-standing alike, the deity before whom the sacrifice is carried out is usually accompanied in the scene by a speech "Words spoken by (the god) NN: 'I give (or: have given) to you all victory, etc.'".<sup>104</sup> Such speeches are absent on the free-standing private stelae,<sup>105</sup> most of which are relatively small in size, nowhere near the monumental dimensions normally associated with royal stelae.<sup>106</sup> They are, however, present on some of the rock-cut private stelae. None of the private stelae have accompanying texts which could be characterized as royal as, e.g. those found on stelae Cairo JE 13715,<sup>107</sup> which begins with the king's titulary and concludes with an encomium on his power, or Munich Gl. 29,<sup>108</sup> which begins in the same way and then continues with an exchange of speeches between the king and the god. Although it is true that the text of stela nr. 8, Cairo JE 88879, does begin with the king's titulary and continues with a decree awarding a grant of land by the king to the shield-bearer Wosimare<sup>ʿ</sup>nakht, it can be reasonably argued that it was Wosimare<sup>ʿ</sup>nakht, not the king, who had been responsible for the erection of the stela.<sup>109</sup> The other seemingly-royal stelae, all of which are more or less complete, have, at best, only the identifying captions of the figures and might be considered royal mainly because they picture the king.<sup>110</sup> While none of this, by itself, is sufficient to warrant postulating a private origin for the stelae in question, when taken together with the facts that the scene appears on obviously non-royal stelae of similar non-monumental dimensions, that the god, when present, particularly on the free-standing stelae, is not accompanied by any utterance, and that no royal inscription is present beneath the scene, then I believe that a strong, albeit

circumstantial, argument can be made that this was, indeed, the case and that none of the stelae under study here should be considered as other than private stelae. This, in turn, prompts me to ask some probably-new and hitherto-unasked questions about them, foremost among which are the reasons for the appearance of a royal scene on a non-royal monument, the meaning or significance of the scene, itself, and, particularly, in connection with the preceding question, the source(s) of inspiration and prototype(s) from which it is derived. While this chapter is concerned only with the motif of the triumphant king slaughtering an enemy or a group of enemies in the presence of a god, it is obvious that the answers to these questions, or at least to the first of them, should be equally applicable to other representations of the king and royal motifs on private stelae.

It has been noted in Section B that the ceremonial scene is, on a number of stelae, viewed within the aperture of a doorway or gateway, with empty fields both above and below it, while on the remainder no such portal is represented. We may then pose the question of whether the inclusion or omission of the portal is of any importance. In other words, is it simply an artistic device which takes this pleasing and symmetrical form to serve as an additional frame, and to emphasize the scene which it encompasses, for certainly the scene pictured within it is the most important element of the visual portion of the stela, or is it an integral part of the tableau itself? If the latter is the case, then its absence on some stelae ought to have an import, but this, in turn, depends on the interpretation of the scene as either a symbolic and propagandistic illustration of the royal myth, or as an actual depiction of a real event. I believe that the

latter was the case and, that on these stelae, we are looking at a specific ceremonial sacrifice which was performed in a specific temple at a specific point in time. If I am correct in this, then those instances of the scene where the portal is omitted are merely abbreviated and simplified, conceptually and ideologically, versions of those on which this architectural feature is present, a case of *pars pro toto*. It can be further argued that the gateway itself is to be interpreted by this principle, if we consider the scene of a stela (Fig. 20) found by Mariette at Abydos and now in the Cairo Museum, temp. nr. 16/3/25/12.<sup>111</sup> In the upper of the two registers, beneath the curve of its top, is a winged sun-disk and immediately below this, filling the entire register, is the pylon of a temple, comprising the 2 towers, each with a cavetto cornice and torus molding, flanking a smaller gateway which, likewise, is complete with a cavetto cornice and torus molding. In front of each tower, on either side of the gateway and close to it, is a pair of flagpoles and in front of these, facing inwards towards the gateway, a colossal statue of a king, wearing the White Crown, stands on a statue base. Viewed through the gateway's aperture, with a narrow empty field below it, is a scene depicting a king, wearing the Blue Crown, standing and offering something to the god, Ptah. The upper register is separated from the lower by a double ground line. In the lower register, at the left and facing right, a man kneels before a pair of heaped-up offering tables, both hands raised in the gesture of adoration. In front of the offering tables are 4 vertical lines of text, continued by an additional, horizontal line in the field over the altars. These read:

"Giving praise to Ptah, the Lord of Ma'at,<sup>112</sup> and kissing



the earth for his ka: 'I send<sup>113</sup> praises for you to<sup>114</sup>  
 the height of heaven. (I) exalt your beauty. You are  
 beautiful when you are at rest. May you favour me  
 every day'! Made by the goldsmith, Ramose".

The temple pylon pictured here exhibits a remarkable degree of realism and also a, perhaps unwitting, degree of perspective, with each of its elements properly positioned in the sequence in which it would be seen by anyone approaching it. Closest to the viewer is the pair of colossal statues flanking the dromos. Between and behind them is the gateway projecting in front of the towers on each side of it. The flagstaves abut the fronts of the towers, directly behind and in line with the statues. The tableau in the aperture of the gateway is on a direct central axis with the sanctuary. Since the other architectural elements of the complex are correctly and realistically depicted, it is then not unreasonable to suppose that the scene, within the canon of Egyptian art, likewise depicted an architectural feature of or within the temple. Its position on the central axis of the gateway, when taken together with the fact that one of the figures in it is that of the god, suggests that what the tableau illustrates is an action within a sanctuary, probably the main sanctuary of the temple, and that the empty field at its bottom is actually the forecourt. The figure of the deity, as I have tried to show elsewhere,<sup>115</sup> is not that of the god incarnate, but is rather that of his cult statue shown in profile in accordance with the traditional canon.<sup>116</sup> If we understand that the worshipper, the goldsmith, Ramose, is reciting his prayer and making his offerings to the god within the temple, as the text indicates, how, then, are we to explain the figure of the king? The simplest

explanation is that he, too, is being shown in the act of performing a ceremony before the cult statue of the god within the sanctuary, while Ramose makes his orisons outside, in the courtyard. This interpretation is supported by the scene of the upper register, unique, to my knowledge, of a stela (Fig. 21) in Berlin (nr. 23077).<sup>117</sup> There, at the right and facing left, a male worshipper, the outline draftsman of Amūn, Nebre',<sup>118</sup> wearing an ankle-length kilt with a wide apron and an elaborately plaited wig, kneels before an offering table, both of his arms raised in the gesture of adoration. To the left of the offering table the god Amūnre' sits upon a throne. The figure of the god is superimposed on the facade of a temple, directly before the central axis of the gateway, which is hidden by his body. The two towers of the pylons, however, the platform on which they stand, and the pair of flagstaves which front each tower are clearly seen. The text of this stela has been the subject of several studies in depth and, for the most part, does not concern us here,<sup>119</sup> but the last few lines of it do have a bearing on the thesis of this study. After a long hymn to the god, praying for mercy and thanking him for saving the life of his son, Nebre' concludes the text with the following statement:

"... 'I will make this stela upon your name and I will inscribe this hymn on its face for you, in writing, for you have saved the outline draftsman, Nakhtamūn for me'. So I spoke to you and you hearkened to me. Now see, I am doing what I said. You are the lord of the one who calls to him, the one who is content with Truth, the lord of Thebes. Made by the outline (draftsman) Nebre' and (his) son, Khay".

In short, the scene on the upper register in all probability pictures Nebre's original prayer on behalf of his son, Nakhtamūn, when he visited the temple in order to seek the aid of the god. The only conceivable reason for the presence of the temple on the stela, behind the god, would be because the prayer took place inside the temple. Since the god, obviously, is more important than the building, he has pride of place in the scene. Thus he is portrayed superimposed on the edifice.

On analogy, the same line of reasoning which I have applied to the Abydene stela Cairo 16/3/25/12 and to stela Berlin 23077, should also be applied to the stelae with the smiting scene. This is numismatically abbreviated on those where the pylon gateway is shown (note particularly stela nr. 14) and is even more simplified on those where it is not. The representation of the cult statue in profile gives the false impression that it is standing in the temple's forecourt, which, obviously, it is not. Nevertheless, that the ceremonial execution was carried out in the forecourt seems certain for several reasons, not the least among which is the fact that this was the only part of the temple which was accessible to the lay public.<sup>120</sup> Indeed, not only on stela nr.14, but also on stela nr. 11, the dedicator is shown outside the gateway, adoring the king as he performs the slaughter within. On stelae nrs. 3, 4, 6, and 9, and on rock stelae nrs. 15, 16, 18, and 19, which also picture the dedicator watching the sacrificial rite, we may assume that these are simplified illustrations of the ceremony which, *pars pro toto*, is indicated by the king, the victim(s) and the cult statue of the god. In all of these cases, as in that of Cairo 16/3/25/12 and Berlin 23077, for both technical and traditional reasons, the worship-

pers are shown outside the temple or are separated from it by being placed in the lower register, but it is most likely that they actually watched the ceremony from inside the temple's fore-court which, as will be shown below, was the normal venue for ceremonies of this nature.

On his Amada stela, Amūnhotpe II recorded the execution of 7 Syrian rulers as follows:<sup>121</sup>

"His majesty returned in joy to his father, Amūn, after he had slain, with his own mace, the 7 princes who had been in the region of Takhsi, with them placed upside-down from the prow of the falcon-ship of his majesty. ... Afterwards, the bodies of 6 of these enemies were hanged from the wall of Thebes, the hands<sup>122</sup> as well. Then the other enemy was taken southwards, to Nubia, and hanged from the wall of Napata".

Although it would appear, in this text, that the captives were executed in Asia, this does not preclude other captive chiefs from having been brought back alive to Egypt on other occasions<sup>123</sup> to grace the pharaoh's triumphal return and to figure in his thanksgiving to the gods, after which, as in Rome millenia later, they were ceremonially slain. The Amada text strongly suggests, in view of the treatment of the corpses of the victims, that the degradation was witnessed by the Egyptian populace, who undoubtedly savoured the humiliating spectacle of the bodies hanging from the walls of Thebes and Napata (and, we may assume, from those of other major Egyptian cities). Is it not unreasonable, then, to suppose that the execution of the captive enemy rulers was, likewise, an essentially public affair, if not a public holiday? In this respect, the importance of the ceremonial execution

of the defeated enemy leaders is underscored by its prominent occurrence on the walls of the temples. Certainly, in the magnificent series of battle reliefs of Seti I at Karnak<sup>124</sup> and those of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu,<sup>125</sup> to cite but 2 examples, the final scene in each series is the formal despatch of the conquered chiefs before the gods.<sup>126</sup> That these particular scenes were, indeed, the most important within the series which they culminated is quite apparent from their placement on the temple walls. Although chronologically they should have come last, inasmuch as they depicted the final episode of their respective narratives, their location, usually on the face of the pylon, insured that that they would be the first scene to be viewed by anyone who approached the temple's entrance. While they obviously presented the timeless truth of the triumph of the king at all times over all of his foes, they must also have illustrated a specific act in a specific ceremony at a specific point in time.

We may now turn to the question asked earlier about the inspiration, prototype, motivation, and historical reality behind the appearance of the royal motif of the ceremonial sacrifice on the non-royal monuments surveyed above. I have already suggested that what was represented pictured an actual event. However, it may be argued that this was not the case and that what is enailed here is nothing more than a visual illustration of the royal myth demonstrating the inevitable and invincible triumph of Egyptian pharaoh<sup>127</sup> which normally entered into the repertoire of the tableaux of royal stelae and then, for reasons unknown to us, though perhaps by imitation, also entered into the repertoire of private stelae scenes. In support of such an argument, one might cite the well-known scene of Sahure<sup>1</sup> smiting a Libyan chief

in the presence of his wife, Khutyotes, and his sons, Usa and Uni, with a detailed list of the herds of animals which had been taken as plunder appended.<sup>128</sup> Just as this seeming historical statement loses its historical credibility in the light of those showing Pepi I, Pepi II, and Taharka, likewise slaying a Libyan ruler in the presence of his identically-named wife and children,<sup>129</sup> the same could hold true for virtually every representation of the pharaoh smiting an enemy.<sup>130</sup> Nevertheless, as John Wilson noted over 2 decades ago, at some point in time an Egyptian king undoubtedly did slay a Libyan prince in the presence of his wife, Khutyotes, and his sons, Usa and Uni, an event which subsequently entered the royal myth.<sup>131</sup> In other words, in spite of the fact that the scene ultimately became incorporated into the royal myth, it did at some particular time illustrate a real event. While the obvious propagandistic value of the scene, whether it appears on a temple pylon or wall, on a free-standing or a rock-cut stela, particularly on the latter which are found in the border marches of Egypt and beyond, cannot be either minimized or overlooked, the fact that in many of these latter instances specific, known individuals commissioned its portrayal, with themselves appearing as spectators of it, suggests that in these cases, at least,<sup>132</sup> more than a glorification of the king via the royal myth was intended, and that an actual event was also being shown and commemorated.

Starting, then, from the premise that the smiting does depict an actual, physical event, as is, indeed, suggested if not explicitly stated textually,<sup>133</sup> it is then patently obvious that this event was the inspiration for and the historical reality which underlays its appearance in art, particularly in monumental

temple art. While it is logical to assume that the temple scene, in turn, was the prototype of the stela scene, this probably was not the case unless, by this assumption, is understood the technical and mechanical aspects of reproducing a real event in a two dimensional picture. It is manifestly evident that the inspiration for the stela scene also would have been the actual ceremony.

It follows, then, that since a real event seems to have been shown on these private stelae, albeit frequently in an abbreviated manner, it must have taken place at a specific time and in a specific building, obviously a temple<sup>134</sup> which must also be depicted in the scene. Consequently, the next points to be determined, if possible, are at what time or times, on what occasion or occasions, and in what temple, or temples?

Only the double-stela of Setau at Abu Simbel has any specific date,<sup>135</sup> namely regnal year 38 of Ramesses II.<sup>136</sup> The text, itself, gives no indication of why this monument was commissioned or exactly what it commemorates.<sup>137</sup> John Schmidt has suggested, most cautiously, that, since year 38 is the earliest known date for Setau, the commissioning of the stela could have marked his installation as viceroy of Kush.<sup>137</sup> Even so, this does not explain why the king is pictured on it in the act of slaughtering several foes. We would expect that the ritual execution of a conquered ruler to take place only after the war in which he had been defeated was ended, and then during the victory celebrations. How soon these would have taken place after the war was over, however, is another question, although, reasonably, we should not expect the time gap to have been very long.<sup>139</sup> We might expect the nationalities of the prisoners to give an indi-

cation of against whom the war had been fought. In the case of the Abu Simbel double-stela, however, this actually confuses the issue for, according to the drawing of Lepsius, some of the victims seem to have been Asiatics,<sup>140</sup> but there is no evidence for any war of Ramesses II in Asia after year 21, the date of his treaty with the Hittites.<sup>141</sup> Moreover, the adscription to the prisoners on the south stela identifies them as "the chiefs of wretched Kush", and this, undoubtedly, was who they were. We may well assume that the artist who prepared this stela was influenced by what now must have been a stock scene in his repertoire and gave no really careful attention to whether or not the nationality of the victims was in harmony with what the accompanying text recorded.<sup>142</sup> Certainly long after that had been any major war waged by Ramesses II in Nubia, there must have been the more or less frequent border incidents and engagements which have always plagued the frontier between a civilized state and its barbarian neighbour. In other words, what the double-stela commissioned by the viceroy of Kush, Setau, in regnal year 38 of Ramesses II, may have pictured is the ceremonial sacrifice of several Kushite chiefs taken after a border skirmish, with the reason for the commissioning of the stela being to mark Setau's installation as viceroy. In its execution, however, the scene and the event which it pictured were transformed into the less factual, but more dramatic illustration of the royal myth. Such an interpretation could very well be applied to the other rock-stelae erected by other viceroys and their immediate subordinates,<sup>143</sup> but we are still faced with the problem of why this same scene of the triumph of pharaoh should figure on the stelae of private individuals of lesser rank, not on the border marches, but in Thebes,



Memphis, and Qantir, from whence most of the free-standing stelae which contain it originate. Most of those which have texts do not elucidate this point. The texts only indicate that the stela in question was "made by" so and so and/or contain a short hymn-let.<sup>144</sup> One, however, the stela of Wosimare'nakht from Qantir (nr. 8), the text of which records the bestowal of a grant of land to him as a reward, provides the key to our understanding of the rationale for the commissioning of stelae with this scene by people of lower rank. At first glance, the combination of the text and tableau of the Qantir stela seems incongruous, the former appearing to have no relation to or bearing on the nature of the latter. After all, what does the picture of the slaying of an enemy ruler have to do with the awarding of a land grant by the king? Seemingly nothing, until we remember that the scene is a representation of a public ceremony. The inference from this is clear: what could be more logical at the conclusion of such a public ceremony in which the evil are justly punished, then to confer rewards on the good, on the various loyal and deserving subjects of the king? Likewise, it would be equally logical for the recipients of such rewards to commemorate both the award and the ceremony at which it was given. When viewed in this light, Schmidt's speculation about the motivation for the commissioning of the Abu Simbel double-stela of year 38 becomes quite plausible. Additional support for the probability of this being the correct interpretation is to be found in the more varied group of stela scenes to be discussed more fully below, in Chapter 2, which illustrate an entirely different ceremony and its aftermaths. Stelae Hildesheim 374<sup>145</sup> and Louvre C 213<sup>146</sup> both picture their dedicators, "the soldier, Mose, of the great company 'Ramesses-

mi'amūn, the Beloved of Atum,"<sup>147</sup> and "the overseer of the royal harim, Hormin",<sup>148</sup> standing before the window of appearances and receiving gold collars from the king's own hand, Mose from Rameses II, Hormin from Seti I, in a public ceremony. Stela Cairo CG 34.177<sup>149</sup> shows "the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, Any" riding in his chariot after the award, his neck laden with similar gold collars. Stelae Cairo CG 34.178 and CG 34.180, both of which also belong to Any, show him wearing these collars as he sits at a table and is attended by a servant.<sup>150</sup> Although this group of 5 stelae, all of which depict their owners wearing this gold of honour, show incidents related to a ceremony outside the scope of the present chapter, it may nevertheless be noted here that, on 2 of them, a specific public ceremony is recorded and that, on the remaining 3, the fact that the stela's owner is shown wearing the gold, indicates that the awarding of it to him was, without question, a significant and important event of his life. With this in mind, we may then logically conclude that those dedicators of the stelae with the smiting scene would have regarded their mere attendance at the ceremony and their witnessing of the execution as an important event in their lives, one worthy of commemoration. This, of course, is quite consistent with the psychological rationale which underlays the *raison d'être* of many, if not all, Egyptian stelae.

## E

In the preceding Section I have attempted to establish that the smiting scene depicts the very formal occasion, at which the dedicator was present, when captive enemy chiefs were ritually despatched in the presence of a god, that they did not merely

commemorate or reiterate in a symbolic manner the eternal triumph, power, and invincibility of pharaoh. Since the time range of the stelae extends from the middle of the 18th Dynasty until, at the least, the beginning of the 20th (assuming that when the cartouche of a king is present, then the stela is to be dated to his reign),<sup>151</sup> it is obvious that, although the same ceremony is being shown, it is being shown at different times and in different places. It would, therefore, be most satisfactory if we could then assign or relate somehow the individual sacrifices pictured on those stelae whose date seems to be firmly assured by the cartouche of a specific king to the triumphant aftermath and the victory celebrations which followed a specific war known to have been waged in the reign of the king in question. In the light of our extant evidence, however, this can hardly be more than speculation and, probably, often fruitless speculation at that. Thutmose IV is shown slaying variously a Libyan, a Nubian, and an Asiatic.<sup>152</sup> While there is no evidence, whatsoever, of any campaigning on his part against the Libyans, the Konosso stela of his year 8 records a punitive action against Nubian raiders, as does that of his year 7, unless these two inscriptions, as has been suggested, refer to the same event.<sup>153</sup> Whatever its exact nature may have been, such military activity which this king carried out in Asia, whether in North Syria or in Palestine,<sup>154</sup> seems to have been ended by his regnal year 6.<sup>155</sup> Consequently, the victory celebrations depicted on the stelae dated to his reign might have taken place around year 8 and the stelae, themselves, may have been carved at about the same time.<sup>156</sup>

The only military activity attested for Horemheb after he became king (and its nature is debatable for it seems to have been a propagandistic lie rather than a bona fide campaign) did take

place in Nubia.<sup>157</sup> Conversely, the only military activities in Asia in which he may have taken part were most likely carried out while various of the Amarna pharaohs sat on the throne, but after gaining the throne himself, Horemheb claimed that even these were part of his royal achievements.<sup>158</sup>

The captive being slain by Seti I on the rock-cut stelae at Aswan (nrs. 15-17) was probably a Nubian.<sup>159</sup> While it is true that his nationality cannot be ascertained from De Morgan's drawings, Seti I is known to have waged at least one real war in the south, about regnal year 8, against the Nubian country of Irem,<sup>160</sup> the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, who commissioned these stelae, held office for all of Seti I's reign, possibly even into the opening years of that of Ramesses II,<sup>161</sup> and these rock-cut stelae are all located on the frontier of Egypt and Nubia where, if only for reasons of propaganda and of intimidation, we would expect to see triumphs over Nubians flaunted. Consequently, it is not forcing the evidence to associate these scenes of the execution of a Nubian prince with the Nubian war of Seti's year 8, with the ceremonial slaughter taking place sometime after year 8, the 13th day of the 3rd month of the Proyet season, when the victory was achieved.<sup>162</sup> If, however, this were the case, then it is clear that the occasion which prompted Amenemope to commission the carvings was not his installation as viceroy (as probably was the reason for the commissioning of the double-stelae of Setau at Abu Simbel)<sup>163</sup> inasmuch as Amenemope, by this time, had already been in office for several years.

Excluding the Abu Simbel double-stela, the other non-royal monument with a smiting scene which can be securely fixed to the reign of Ramesses II is that of "the scribe in the Place of Eter-

nity, Ramose", from Deir el-Medineh (nr. 6).<sup>164</sup> Here, although 3 distinct ethnic types are shown being despatched simultaneously by the king, a Nubian, a Syrian, and a Shasu,<sup>165</sup> it is quite possible that the representation is not real, but only a reiteration of a stock scene. However, since no Hittite is shown among the victims, it could also very well be that the ceremony which was represented reflected, retrospectively, events which took place before the Kadesh campaign against the Hittites in regnal year 5. In this event, the Nubian captive may be associated with the victory against the Nubians pictured at the Beit el-Wali temple which seems to date from the earliest years of Ramesses II's reign, when he was still coregent with Seti I,<sup>166</sup> and also at the temple of Derr.<sup>167</sup> The Syrian and the Shasu could easily be associated with a victory in Palestine or Syria during the campaign of year 4, which saw Ramesses reach as far north as the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirut.<sup>168</sup>

Since the major military activity carried out during the reign of Merneptah was the repelling of the invasion by the coalition of Libyans and Sea Peoples in his regnal year 5, it is not at all surprising to find a Libyan pictured as the sacrificial victim on the single stela which is more or less firmly dated to his reign, (nr. 7),<sup>169</sup> and it is not unreasonable, then, to suppose that the stela in question had been commissioned and set up in this year, or shortly thereafter.

Virtually nothing is known of the events, either internal or external, of the short reigns of Amenmesse and Seti II. However, if my interpretation of the historical reality behind and the inspiration for the smiting is acceptable, then certainly the scene of the rock-cut stela which the legate of Wawat, Mery,

set up at Abu Simbel (nr. 19) in honour of Amenmesse and which was later usurped by Seti II<sup>170</sup> should be taken as an indication of some military action by, at least, the former, an action then either repeated or claimed by the latter. Since the prisoner being executed is a Nubian, this, together with the stela's Nubian provenance and the fact that it was instigated by a high-ranking official of the Nubian administration, should all lead us to expect that this putative military activity had taken place in Nubia, although it may possibly have entailed nothing more than a punitive action on the border marches.

The last ruler to whose reign any of the private stelae are firmly dated is Ramesses III, the stela in question being that of the shield-bearer, Wosimare'nakht, from Qantir, which has been discussed in some detail above.<sup>171</sup> The fact that one of the prisoners shown on it is an Asiatic and the other a Libyan suggests a time after the Second Libyan War of regnal year 11, for although real warfare on Ramesses' part in Asia, and specifically in Syria, such as is illustrated in the historical reliefs both at Medinet Habu and at Karnak, probably did not take place,<sup>172</sup> the suggestion that some sort of military operation was carried out in Asia following the defeat of the Peoples of the Sea in year 8, in an attempt to drive them as far as possible away from Egypt,<sup>173</sup> is quite plausible and undoubtedly contains an element of truth. This, of course, would explain the presence of the Asiatic here.

There were, obviously, very good reasons why captives of a particular national type appear in some smiting scenes, but not in others, or what on some occasions a single prisoner was shown and, in other instances several. We do not have here an example

of artistic license or whim. It should be clear that the motif of the king smiting a victim (in the presence of a god), while certainly a conventional item in the repertoire of the Egyptian artists, is to be taken more seriously than it usually is. It is not to be dismissed as a mere, stock, scene.<sup>174</sup> When used judiciously, it can, as I have tried to show above, be a useful historical document.<sup>175</sup>

## F

If the sacrifice depicted on the stelae was a real event which took place at a specific time, after a successful military operation, in a real temple, it should be possible, perhaps, to the location of, at least some, of these temples, if not to identify them. On the great majority of the free-standing stelae, the god in whose presence the execution of the prisoners is being carried out is the Memphite god, Ptah.<sup>176</sup> Several of these stem from Petrie's excavations in the great temple of Ptah at Memphis,<sup>177</sup> others were purchased at Giza and in Cairo, and probably also originally came from Memphis.<sup>178</sup> 2 were acquired at Luxor and may have originated in Thebes.<sup>179</sup> The provenance of the others is unknown,<sup>180</sup> although it is not inconceivable that some of them came from Memphis. It is likewise probable that the execution pictured on all of them was carried out in the forecourt of the great temple of Ptah in Memphis. This, surely, was the case with the pieces actually excavated there and, since at least 1 of those bought at Luxor agrees so closely in its depiction of the architectural detail of the temple in which the ritual was accomplished with those of unquestioned Memphite origin,<sup>181</sup> it can scarcely be doubted that it portrays the same incident in the same locality.<sup>182</sup> Moreover, being purchased in Luxor does

not assure an original provenance from Luxor,<sup>183</sup> but even if it did, it is not impossible for the dedicator of the stela, who may have lived in Thebes, to have been present a ceremony in Memphis, which he later commemorated on a stela in Thebes.<sup>184</sup>

The single stela which pictures Seth as the deity presiding over the execution was excavated by Habachi at Qantir and we may assume that it was there, in a temple of Seth, that the ceremony pictured on it was carried out.<sup>185</sup>

While no god is shown on the stela from Deir el-Medineh,<sup>186</sup> it is reasonable to suppose that the prisoners shown on it were actually slain before Amūnre'. Although it is difficult to decide in which of Amūn's Theban temples this might have taken place, the Deir el-Medineh provenance suggests that it should have been on the West Bank of Thebes, and the reign of Ramesses II suggests that it might have been the Ramesseum. However, considering the importance and the emphasis of the ritual slaughter of the captive enemy chiefs, it is also not inconceivable, on analogy with the Memphite examples, that it took place in the most important temple of Thebes, the temple of Karnak.

With regard to the rock-cut stelae, it is most logical to suppose that the rite depicted on them took place in the most important temple in their vicinity: the great temple of Abu Simbel, obviously, in the case of the stelae of Setau and Mery.<sup>187</sup> No deity is depicted on the rock-stelae of the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope,<sup>188</sup> but since they are situated on the road between Aswan and Philae, it is not difficult to assume that here the sacrifice was offered to the most important deity of the region, Khnūm, possibly in his temple on Elephantine.

Of the stelae of either firmly-assured or presumed Mem-



phite origin and/or connection, those which show the ceremonial sacrifice as being viewed through the temple's gateway are remarkably consistent in detail, except for the numbers and nationality of the victims. These vary from stela to stela.<sup>189</sup> On two stelae, the inclusion among other details of at least a pair of and as many as four human ears, seemingly inexplicable at first glance,<sup>190</sup> allows us to identify the particular manifestation and cult statue of Ptah before which and to whom the sacrifice is being consummated as "Ptah, (the pair of ears) who hears petitions".<sup>191</sup> It is probable that this particular manifestation of the god was among the most important worshipped in Memphis. A great many stelae have been found there, or are presumed to have come from Memphis, which picture Ptah in combination with a pair or several pairs of ears, together with the epithet "(the pair of ears) who hears petitions",<sup>192</sup> sometimes with the epithet alone,<sup>193</sup> sometimes with the ears, but not the epithet.<sup>194</sup> In addition, a large number of stelae have been found, especially at Memphis, which have no anthropomorphic representation of any god, but show only a single ear,<sup>195</sup> a pair of ears,<sup>196</sup> or multiple pairs of ears.<sup>197</sup> While the epithet and the ears are also found with deities other than Ptah,<sup>198</sup> the stelae picturing only ears have always been attributed only to Ptah.<sup>199</sup> While this view can probably no longer be maintained today,<sup>200</sup> it is, nevertheless, most likely that this was the case with those found at Memphis. We are dealing here with the thoroughly Egyptian phenomenon of depicting the same concept simultaneously in various ways, each capable of standing alone, but, when used in combination with the others, supporting, reinforcing, and supplementing them. In view of this, it is then perhaps not too speculative to see this form

of Ptah in every representation of him from Memphis, even without any other indication being present. Certainly this is the form of the god on two of the stelae under study and, if all show the same ceremony taking place in the same temple, it follows that they should be taking place before the same cultic image and manifestation of the deity. If, in most cases, he is shown without the accompanying ears or epithet, this is, then, another example of the principle *pars pro toto*.

It should also be noted that the epithet "(the pair of ears) who hear petitions" is, then, implicit in the representation of ears together with a deity. Along with the other gods at Deir el-Medineh, it is found with Amūnre', and, although I know of no instances in connection with Seth, it is found at Qantir where Seth was an important god.<sup>201</sup> On analogy with the Memphite examples, it is not unreasonable to suppose that in both Thebes and Qantir, the cult statue before which this ritual slaughter was consummated likewise bore the epithet "(the pair of ears) who hears petitions". Admittedly, this can only be speculation, but it is logical to offer thanks, by means of a sacrifice, to the deity "who hears petitions" in the hope and belief that, by doing so, the god will continue to hear the prayers of him offering the sacrifice. In the cases under discussion this would have been for continued victory.<sup>202</sup> Such a reciprocal exchange is even suggested by the scene of the Qantir stela of Wosimare'nakht<sup>203</sup> and by those on the Abu Simbel rock-cut stelae of Setau<sup>204</sup> and of Mery.<sup>205</sup> Here, the god in whose presence the prisoners are being slain is pictured offering the king a second weapon, a motif well-attested in Egyptian art.<sup>206</sup> Insofar as one normally would expect a weapon to be offered before it is to be used, and not

while it, or another weapon, is being employed. This action on the part of the god seems somewhat out of place. The first idea that comes to mind is that the artist must have conflated two separate ceremonies which he depicted simultaneously: the ritual despatch of the captured enemy leader at the conclusion of a war, together with the giving of the sword and victory to the king, which marked the divine sanction for the opening of a campaign. This latter rite is graphically portrayed in the reliefs of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu where, at the beginning of the series which illustrate the 1st Libyan War, Ramesses is shown standing before Amūnre'. The king of the gods is seated on a throne, while Thoth and Khonsu stand nearby, as witnesses. As Amūn presents a sword to the king, he says:

"My beloved son, take for yourself the sword, that you may smite the heads of the rebellious countries! ...

Forward, (my) son, to cast down him who attacks you, to slay [----]".<sup>207</sup>

Like the sacrificial rite, the ritual of conferring the sword on the king at the beginning of a war figures as the scene, often in an abbreviated and simplified form, on both royal and private stelae.<sup>208</sup> However, this ceremony is not what is being pictured in the tableaux of the Qantir and Abu Simbel stelae, nor do we have here a conflation of the two rites, conferring the sword and smiting the foe, in a single scene. What is being shown is a more elaborate version of the triumphal sacrifice. As was pointed out in the preceding Section, the first scene to greet anyone approaching the temple from the front was that of the sacrifice, even though, chronologically, it should have and would have concluded the narrative series of scenes of the king's

victory.<sup>209</sup> In its most expanded form on the temple wall, while the king slaughters a host of cringing enemies, the god offers him the sword and, at the same time, leads still more enemies to the king to be slaughtered,<sup>210</sup> these being symbolically by the anthropomorphic name-rings, each containing a different toponym. On royal and private stelae, even on scarabs, it occurs in a much abbreviated form, with the number of victims drastically reduced and the additional captives which are presented by the god altogether omitted.<sup>211</sup> The speeches of the god make it clear that he has already granted victory to the king and that he shall continue to do so, as the following excerpts indicate:

"I cause the chiefs of the Southern Countries to come to you, ... that you may give the breath (of life) to whomsoever you wish, but to slay whomsoever you wish, as you desire. ... I will give to you my sword (here) before you to overthrow the (Nine) Bows".<sup>212</sup>

"Take for yourself the sword, O victorious king! Your mace has smitten the Nine Bows. ... I will give you power. I will place the fear of you in every foreign land and the dread of you in the hearts of their chiefs.

I will make your boundaries wheresoever you wish!"<sup>213</sup>

While this is, of course, highly symbolic hyperbole, it is, nevertheless, clear that the scene and the ceremony which it depicts had a very real origin, one whose occurrence is so graphically recalled on some of the private stelae of the New Kingdom.

Footnotes:

7. See now B.G.Trigger, "The Narmer Palette in Cross-Cultural Perspective", apud M. Görg and E. Pusch, eds. Festschrift Elmar Edel 12 März 1979. (Bamberg: 1979) 409.
8. See J. Śliwa, "Some Remarks Concerning Victorious Ruler Representations in Egyptian Art", Forschungen und Berichte 16 (1974) 97-117 and, earlier, H.Schäfer, "Das Niederschlagen der Feinde. Zur Geschichte eines Ägyptischen Sinnbildes", WZKM 54 (1957) 168-176. Unfortunately, since I read neither Russian nor Polish, I have been unable to make use of either V.I. Avdiev, "Religionznoje opravdanie vojny v drevneegipetskom iskusstvie, Sceny triumfa", VDI 4 (9) 1939, 103-117, or Śliwa, "Zagadnienie przedstawień zwycięskiego władcy w sztuce egipskiej", Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego 330 (1973) 7-22. This latter, however, appears to be an expanded earlier version of his 1974 study. For the royal myth itself, see J.A. Wilson, "The Royal Myth in Ancient Egypt", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 100 nr. 5 (1956) 439-442, and my "Beyond the Fringe: Sources for Old Kingdom Foreign Affairs", JSSEA 9 (1979) 88.
9. See, e.g. LD III, pls. 61, 129, 140, 144; H.Ranke, The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum. (Philadelphia: 1950) 15 fig. 2, 103 fig. 62; ANEP 102 fig. 312; The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu II: Later Historical Records of Ramesses III. (Chicago: 1932) pls. 101, 102, 114, 120-122.
10. See, e.g. J. Černý, A.H.Gardiner, and T.E.Peet, The Inscriptions of Sinai. 2nd ed. (London: 1952) pls. 1, 3, 5, 8; LD III, pls. 69 c, 81 g-h; LD IV, pl. 197.

11. See, e.g. A. Rowe, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs ... in the Palestine Archaeological Museum (Cairo: 1936) nr. 578; H. R. Hall, A Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc. in the British Museum I (London: 1913) nrs. 1108-1110, 2211; E. Feucht, Die Königlichen Pektoreale (Ph.D. dissertation, Munich: 1967) pl. 4, nr. 5; Śliwa, "Some Remarks ...", 101 fig. 4; Pritchard, ANEP 101 fig. 310; C.R. Williams, The New York Historical Society. Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities ... Gold and Silver Jewelry and Related Objects (New York: 1924) pl. 8 nr. 26c; Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Aegyptisches Museum Berlin (Berlin: 1967) fig. 590; Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Kunst voor de eeuwigheid (Leiden: 1966) pl. 24; W.C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II (New York: 1959) 369 fig. 233.
12. For examples of both types of royal stelae see, e.g. stelae Munich Gl. 29 and Cairo JE 13715, both published by W. Barta, "zwei ramessidische Stelen aus den Wadi Sannûr", MDAIK 20 (1965) 98-101 and pl. 35; stela Gulbenkian Museum, Durham, 1964/176, published by H.S. Smith, The Fortress of Buhen: The Inscriptions (London: 1976) 143, pls. 37 nr. 1 (drawing) and 77 nr. 3 (photograph); LD III, pls. 69, 81, 197.
13. While, undoubtedly, I have not exhausted the literature on stelae, I have looked at the published monuments of the following collections: The British Museum, Hieroglyphic texts from the Egyptian stelae, etc. in the British Museum 10 vols (London: 1911- ); A. Moret, Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Galerie égyptienne, stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers (Paris: 1901); E. Learrain, Les monuments égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris: 1879-1891); T.G. Allen, Egyptian

Stelae in the Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago:1936); H.F. Lutz, Egyptian tomb steles and offering stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California (Berkeley: 1927); O. Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes (Copenhagen: 1948); P. Lacau, Les stèles du Nouvelle Empire (Cairo: 1909); W. Spiegelberg, B. Pörtner, and K. Dryoff, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süd-deutsche Sammlungen 3 vols. (Strassburg: 1902-1906); B. Pörtner, Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus Athen und Konstantinopel (Strassburg: 1908); P.A. Boeser, Denkmäler des Neuen Reiches, Dritte Abteilung. Stelen (Leiden: 1913); J. Cerny, Egyptian Stelae in the Bankes Collection (Oxford: 1958); R. Tosi and A. Roccati, Stele e altere epigraffi di Deir el Medina (Turin: 1972); H. Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection 3 vols. (Warminster: 1976-1976-1983); E. Bresciani, Le stele egiziane del Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna (Bologna: 1985); P. Ramond, Les stèles égyptiennes du Musée G. Labit à Toulouse (Cairo: 1977); J.M. Saleh, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb (Paris: 1970); S. Bosticco, Museo Archeologico di Firenze. Le stele egiziane 3 vols. (Florence: 1965-1972). In addition, I have gone through my own collection of about 1000 photographs of mostly unpublished stelae and I have perused the major journals, excavation reports, Festschrifts, and the published handbooks of the collections and special exhibitions other than those listed above, but these are too numerous to include here, though some are cited in various notes throughout this study.

14. See above, n. 8. Of the unpublished studies, one is by E.S.

Hall, "The Pharaoh Slays his Foes" which was slated to appear in the alas, now-defunct, Miscellanea Wilbouriana, a second is D.R. Seton, The king of Egypt annihilating his enemies: a study in the symbolism of ancient monarchy (unpublished University of Birmingham M.A. thesis). I am aware also that there is a Munich PhD dissertation, written under the supervision of D. Wildung by S. Schoske, but, unfortunately, no details about it have been available to me.

15. See below, Section B, stela nr. 8, which is almost a meter high.
16. See below, Section B. stelae nrs. 3, 6-9, 12-14.
17. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11.
18. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 1-5, 7, 10-11, 13, and Section C, stelae nrs. 15, 16, 18b, and 19, all of which picture a single captive. The remainder of the stelae show several.
19. Except for nr. 8, where the god is Seth, nrs. 18a and 19, where he is Amūn, and 18b, where he is Horus of Buhen. No deity is shown on nrs. 6, 15-17.
20. With the combination maceaxe, see stelae nrs. 1, 2, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18a-b; With the ḥpš-sword, see nrs. 3-5, 8, 10, 13, 14, and 16. On stelae nrs. 6 and 19, the weapon is the pear-shaped mace. On nr. 11, where that portion of the scene where it appeared is lost, there is no way of knowing what it may have been. For the rather curious weapon which I call the maceaxe, see H. Bonnet, Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients (Leipzig: 1926) 41-42.
21. On stelas nr. 8 and 18b, the king wears the Blue Crown. On nr. 19 it is the White Crown. On nrs. 16-16, it is a bag wig. On all of the others it is the short, valenced Nubian



- wig, the so-called "military wig" (for which see C. Aldred, "Hair Styles and History", BMMA N.S. 15 [1957] 141-147) which, with the exception of stela nr. 13, is surmounted by the horned, plumed disk. For this headdress see the next note.
22. See M. Aly, F. Abdel-Hamid, and M. Dewachter, Le Temple d'A-mada IV (Cairo: 1967) 18, where this headdress, listed separately from the crowns worn by the king, is called "the coiffure with ostrich plumes". It is not discussed under the entry Kronen in IdAe III, 811-816, but is briefly alluded to under the entry Federn und Federkrone, ibid. II, 142-144, particularly n. 10.
23. E.g. B. Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940) (Cairo: 1952) 62; Bosticco, Museo Archeologico di Firenze 57. What argues against identifying this headdress as the atef-crown is that fact that in every case where it is shown, it lacks the conical crown to which the feathers and horns are affixed.
24. See stelae nrs. 1, 2, 6, 9, and 18a. On nrs. 8, 18b, and 19 the streamers appear to be affixed to the crown which the king wears. On nr. 4, although I can make out no streamer behind his head, I do seem to detect a trace of its end below his upraised arm. More curious is what appears to be a long tasseled object dangling vertically from the crook of his bent right-elbow. This looks like the long tasseled streamer sometimes affixed to the crown worn by Asiatic gods.
25. See stelae nrs. 3, 6-8, 10-12. On nrs. 1 and 5 the collar is summarily indicated by a single curved line at the king's neck.

26. The recessing and the cornice are clear on Petrie's photograph, but not on his drawing, where the former comes out as a three-sided frame and the latter seems to be a horizontally-hatched border.
27. Although exactly like the feather headdress referred to above in n. 22 (save that no uraei rear up from the horns), Petrie's drawing does not show the sundisks. These, however, are just visible on the photograph.
28. Although visible in his photograph, in Petrie's drawing the projecting tops of the tails of the ms-sign are omitted, and the s is reversed.
29. For the New Kingdom writing of  $\text{b}^3\text{t}y$  here with the Red Crown, see Wb. II, 330, 5, right hand column.
30.  $\text{K}3 \text{ n}^3\text{t.w}$  rather than  $\text{k}3 \text{ n}^3\text{t}$  is written, with both the quail-chick and the plural strokes clearly legible.
31. J.H. Walker, the translator of the texts published in Petrie, Memphis I, was unable to read anything here and dismissed the traces with the comment "indistinct titles". However, it is not unlikely, particularly in the light of the poor orthography and misspellings in the text itself, and also in the light of the poor quality of the drawing (see above, n. 25, and below, nn. 32, 33), that he just did not understand what was written. On both Petrie's and my own photographs, the beginning of the line is obscured by the shadow thrown by the projection of the right jamb, but I seem to see the scribe's reed pen and the traces which are visible suggest the rest of the hieroglyph  $\text{s}\bar{\text{s}}$ .
32. Petrie's drawing shows a large t over the house sign, this followed by an illegible group consisting of a horizontal

stroke on top, with a hornlike sign curving up to meet it from below. On the photograph, however, the t is clearly the horizontal m. The indistinct group which follows is pitted and weathered, but I seem to make out nb "gold".

33. After the s of ms, Petrie's drawing shows an indistinct trace consisting of a tall, vertical stroke, crossed by a wide x, the lower left arm of which is lost. After this the balance of the line is left blank. The photograph, however, reveals the indistinct trace to be the determinative of the seated man holding a flail. In the supposedly empty space which follows this, the tip of the d<sup>3</sup>-loaf and the entire and the entire 'nh are quite clear. For the very common name, Ramose, see PN I, 218, 3.
34. Misspelled h-t-p.
35. The loop of the 'nh is missing.
36. Occasionally the open door(s) of the naos can be seen, see stelae Hildesheim 429 (published by L. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir: Importance", ASAE 52 [1952] pl. 36B), Copenhagen AeIN 1346 (see Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes pl. 30), Philadelphia E 13626 (Memphis find nr. M-4344), 29-65-563 (Memphis find nr. M-2768), Cairo JE 45552 (Memphis find nr. M-2904), and Brooklyn 19.91 (these last four all unpublished). Usually, when the naos is intended to be shown with the doors open, this is done by not completely indicating the its front, as on stela nr. 3, and see also stelae University College, London, 14573 (published by Stewart, Egyptian Stelae I, pl. 28 nr. 2), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.203.2E (published by Petrie, Memphis I pl. 11 nr. 19), passim. On the other hand, when the doors of the naos are meant to be

closed, this was accomplished by showing the naos' front from the base to its cornice, see, e.g. stelae British Museum 262 and 263 (published by T.G.H. James, Hieroglyphic texts IX, pl. 35), University College, London, 14392 (published by Stewart, op. cit. pl. 41 nr. 2), passim.

37. Normally one would expect an apotropaic statement here. If this is such, then we should restore mry "beloved of" at its end. Otherwise, the sentence is another identifying label of the king. One wonders, however, if a different reading is not possible if **what has been taken as** the loop of the t is not a scratch or pit in the stone. If this were the case, then, on the authority of Wb. II, 227, 3, the falcon could be read as nb "lord" with the two horizontals beneath it as t3.wy "(of) the Two Lands". M3 remains unchanged, but the horizontal line beneath its determinative, which really does not look like the 'arm, would be read as t3, the entire sentence then reading: "the lord of the Two Lands offers the land" which, after all, is exactly what the king is doing via the person of the captive enemy chief.
38. For this rather rare title, see Wb. III, 139, 7, where, however, hry is written with the face and not the sky sign.
39. For the name, see PN I, 41,8.
40. The head of the .f-viper is obscured and touches the column divider to its right.
41. Difficult to see, but certain. For other examples, see PN I, 389, 22, where he suggests that it may merely be a variant of Ti3, *ibid.* 337, 18.
42. See PN I, 140, 9, where it is attested only as a masculine name.

43. Hardly noticeable here, but certain.
44. The present whereabouts of the stela is unknown. It was last seen in 1921 when a listing of the Art Institute's Egyptian collection was made. It was not included among those Art Institute pieces which were acquired by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago and, since there is no record of its ever having left the Art Institute, it can reasonably be assumed that it is still there, misplaced in one or another of the Museum's storerooms (Personal Communication of 18 February 1981, from Dr. Louise Berge, Assistant Curator, Department of Classical Art of the Art Institute).
45. Allen, loc. cit., while noting that it "was received through M. Emile Brugsch", suggested that it most probably came from Thebes, from somewhere near the mortuary temple of Thutmose IV, and PM II<sup>2</sup>, 446, accepts this provenance. Allen, however, gave no reasons for assigning a Theban origin to it and Bryan, loc. cit., is undoubtedly correct in suggesting a Memphite provenance for it on stylistic and iconographic grounds.
46. The long hair of the prisoner insures that he was an Asiatic, but the scale of the photograph and the seeming lack of any detail of his dress preclude a more specific identification. The lack of the beard suggests a Hittite, but other nationalities are equally possible.
47. Sketchily indicated, but certain, the front wall of the naos can be traced at the bottom, between the back of the prisoner and the w3s-staff of Ptah. Its upper part is clearly visible above the captive's head and the god's arms. Its topmost part is somewhat covered by the tip of the staff.

For other examples of naoi with the doors closed, see above, n. 36.

48. Compare stela nr. 5 below, where the sky-hieroglyph again appears, but this time covering only the right half of the the tableau, and also stela nr. 2, above, where the scene within the aperture of the portal is inclosed by a thick, raised border. What appears to be the triangular projection of the left end of the sky is caused by a break in the stone immediately below. Nevertheless, both here and in the corresponding place on the right, I seem to detect a slight diagonal thickening of the uprights, as if, indeed, they were melding into the ends of a sky-hieroglyph. For the possible significance of these clear instances of this sign at the top of the scene, see below, n. 120.
49. Probably just a spelling error of no special significance, it occurs not infrequently with the name of Ptah, compare stelae Philadelphia E 12507, University College, London, 14393, and Rochedale Museum, number unknown (all published by Petrie, Memphis I, pls. 12 nr. 24, 10 nr. 9, and 11 nr. 15), ex-Museum Scheuleer S 995 (published by H.P. Blok, "Remarques sur quelques stèles dites 'à oreilles'", Kemi 1 [1928] pl. 9 nr. 2), Berlin West 14666, ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 90.6.146, and Philadelphia E 13619 (all unpublished), all of which show this retrograde spelling. Note also stela Louvre E 13072 (published by Ledrain, Les monuments égyptiens pl. 19 nr. 2) where the god's name is misspelled t-p-h, and see also n. 34 above.
50. With enough room in the field below for a vertical cartouche to have been inserted. There is no possibility of reading

this group as "Lord of Ma'at" and taking it as the epithet qualifying the name of Ptah. In that case it should have been written inside the naos together with the name of the god.

51. I possibly see a  $\overline{t}3i$ -bird at the top, followed by a pair of horizontal signs below, but this is very uncertain. Until the stela can be located and can be physically studied, it is best to leave open the question of whether there had been an inscription here.
52. Unusual is this arrangement in which the woman is portrayed before the man, as if it were she who was the principal worshipper, even though it was he who explicitly dedicated the stela.
53. For the name, see PN I, 5, 24. Allen, loc. cit. transcribed it as "Yu"; apparently misreading the aleph-vulture as the quail chick.
54. For the name, see PN I, 98, 17, where it is found in a somewhat different spelling. Allen, loc. cit. followed by Bryan, loc. cit. read the name as "Ist(u)", apparently reading the initial hieroglyph as the reed leaf, but the foot is very clear on the photograph. My old friend, Klaus Baer, also had no hesitation in reading this sign b, as is clear from a handcopy of the photograph which he had earlier sent me. Furthermore, there is no reason to inclose the -u of the name in brackets as Allen did. It is quite clear on the photograph.
55. Compare Alexander Badawy, A History of Egyptian Architecture. The Empire (The New Kingdom). From the Eighteenth Dynasty to the End of the Twentieth Dynasty. 1580-1085 B.C.







- (Berkeley: 1968) 265 fig. 142 (the temple of Amūnre'-Montu at Karnak North), and 271 fig. 145 (the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medineh). For a representation of such a stairway with sidewalls (at the entrance to a periptal temple), see *ibid.* 281 fig. 156 and pl. 36 (from the tomb of Ipy at Deir el-Medineh). For an ancient three-dimensional model of such a cult temple, complete with stairway (Brooklyn 49.183), see Badawy, "A Monumental Gateway for a Temple of King Sety I, An Ancient Model Restored", Miscellanea Wilbouriana 1 (1972) 1-20.
57. In general for the various types of Asiatic dress and nationalities, see Pritchard, ANEP 14-19 figs. 41-62 and 254-257. For earlier studies, see *idem.* "Syrians as Pictured in the Paintings of the Theban Tombs", Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 122 (April 1951) 36-41. For a stimulating and perceptive study on the accuracy and reliability of Egyptian representations of foreigners, see N. de G. Davies, "The Egyptian Expedition 1929-1930, The Work of the Graphic Branch of the Expedition", Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (December 1930) 29-42 and *idem.* "The Egyptian Expedition 1928-1929, The Graphic Work of the Expedition", *ibid.* (November 1929) 38-41. Because of my inability to read Russian, I was unable to make use of I. V. Bogoslovskaya, "The Dress of the Ethnic Groups Settled in Canaan as Depicted in Egyptian Art of the Sixteenth to Twelfth Centuries", VDI 3 (153) 1980, 117-141.
58. The prenomen appears to be written Dsr-hpr.w-r' followed by an additional vertical stroke alongside those of hpr.w, and with a pair of horizontal lines, the lower of which is n, below. Undoubtedly these are to be read stp-n-r', see Urk.



IV, 2113, 2118, 2120, *passim*. The nomen is garbled. The falcon Hr and beneath it, at the left, the hb-sign are all right, but behind the falcon is an n?, written with the Red Crown, a second, **s**imilarly-written n, but facing in the opposite direction, is to the right of the hb and at the bottom of the cartouche is a horizontal n. Clearly, in view of the prenomen, the scribe wanted to write \*Hr-m-hb-mry-<sup>3</sup>imn or the like, but was probably defeated in this by the minute amount of space available to him.

59. The foe at the left is certainly a Syrian, and the enemy in the center a Nubian. The other prisoner, at the right and facing the king, can be identified from his beard and from his headcloth, the latter held in place by a fillet, more closely as a Shasu, see E.F.Wente, "Shekelesh or Shasu?", JNES 22 (1963) 167-172.
60. On this well-known individual, see now Černý, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period (Cairo: 1973) Appendix B: The Scribe Ra'mose, 317-327.
61. So Bosticco, *o. cit.* citing Rosellini, and Berend, *op. cit.* 84 n. 1, citing a manuscript of Migliarini.
62. *Op. cit.* 508: "The prisoners, represented bearded, should stand for Asiatics, but to what country of Asia they appertain is difficult to say". But see above, nn. 46, 57, 59.
63. He has the short pointed beard and the neck-length curled hairdo so characteristic of the Libyans, see O.Bates, The Eastern Libyans (London: 1914) figs. 10, 12, 20, 22-24, 49, and pls. 1-3.
64. See *ibid.* 132 and the literature cited there.
65. *Loc. cit.*, but dress and facial features alone do not fully


warrant such an identification. In my "The Winged Reshep", JARCE 16 (1979) section B (71-73), I point out that virtually all of the Asiatic gods worshipped in Egypt, Reshep, Keserty, Mikal, Ba'al, and Ba'al-Saphon, look alike, are dress-alike, and, if no identifying caption is present, can be distinguished from one another only through their characteristic poses. But in these instances, it is the cult statue of the god which is being represented, while here, on stela nr. 8, if the offering of the sword by the god has any significance, it should be that of the god himself, rather than his cult statue. Hence the pose is of no help in determining who he was. Nevertheless, the provenance of Qantir for the stela virtually assures that he was Seth. See, also, below, nn. 185 and 201.

66. With the god's name written in honorific transposition.
67. Habachi, op. cit. 509 n. b, takes  as a writing for  via confusion from hieratic, but it is more likely that it was confused with , see Wb. IV, 356, right hand column.
68. Here written without the final .t, but with the determinative of the man with his hand to his mouth and plural dots.
69. For the name, see PN I, 85, 16. I do not take  as did Habachi, loc. cit. as a plural noun, connected with the preceding  in his title by a direct genitive, but rather as a nisbe, here singular, "dweller of a foreign land", "outlander", on the authority of Wb. III, 236, 1, understanding the following  as the determinative. In other words, Wosimare<sup>f</sup>nakht was not an Egyptian from a mountain region, but a foreigner in Egyptian service. This is confirmed by the formulation of his name which has as an ele-

ment the prenomen of the king (see W. Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches [Leiden: 1958] 273). While none of the other men of this name known, are explicitly attested with the title "shield-bearer", it is most probable that both "the brigade commander, overseer of the foreign countries of Tonetjer, and overseer of the palace, Wosimare<sup>nakht</sup>, of Tjeku" (fragment of a tomb jamb from Tel er-Resatbeh published by Petrie, Hyksos and Israelite Cities [London: 1906] pl. 31) and "the royal scribe, Wosimare<sup>nakht</sup>, of the army" (hieratic ostrakon from Qantir mentioned by Habachi, op. cit. 511), both of whom had this same foreign origin and both of whom served under Ramesses III, are to be identified with him. For the title  $kr^f.w$  "shield-bearer", see my Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom (Berlin: 1964) pars. 171-172 and refs. 477-478.

70. For the identification of this place with the village of Es-Sama<sup>na</sup>, 2 kilometers to the southeast of Qantir, see Habachi, op. cit. 512-514, where other attestations of it are cited, but with a slightly different spelling.
71. Following Habachi, *ibid.* 509-510, textual note f.
72. Identified by Habachi, *ibid.* 486-487, with the well in Qantir.
73. Petrie, Memphis I, 8, assigned this stela to Munich, but it, somehow, entered the von Bissing collection and, ultimately, was acquired by the Kestner Museum along with many other sculptures and reliefs from this collection.
74. There is no reason to assume, as Bryan, loc. cit. has, that stelae nrs. 1 and 9 are of the same date and were dedicated by the same man. The Ramose of the Brussels stela and the

the Ramose of the Hannover piece each have quite different titles which, unlike those of the various Wosimare<sup>f</sup>nakhts, cited above in n. 69, have nothing in common. That the Brussels stela dates to the reign of Thutmose IV seems assured by his cartouches, but see below, Section E, n. 151. However, no such explicit chronological indicators are present on stela 9. Any attempt to date it can be done only on stylistic grounds, but there is nothing in the orthography or paleography of the hieroglyphs, in the composition and arrangement of the registers, or in the dress and details of the figures to indicate a more specific date than late 18th or early 19th Dynasty. If the name of the dedicator alone is the basis for assigning both stelae to the same man, we then should also assign stela nr. 6 to him, a patent absurdity since this piece is firmly dated to the reign of Ramesses II.

75. See above, n. 21.
76. Although neither Petrie's drawing on pl. 8 nor his photo on pl. 9 show the cross bars of the sistrum's loop, the object can hardly be anything else. If it had been a menyit-necklace, we should expect the looped part to drape downward over the woman's hand. And it certainly is not a flaming brazier.
77. Petrie's photograph is on too ~~small~~ a scale here to be clear, and his drawing is inaccurate. The sign to the left of the dī<sup>3</sup>-loaf, as my own 1:1 scale photograph shows, is clearly . The sign following the n of sn, which looks like a badly-carved grg or fnd, really does not exist. Actually, it is a deep, diagonal pit which runs from the infinitival

ending .t of sn to just to the right of the middle of the following t3-hieroglyph.

78. Though not apparent in Petrie's drawing or photograph, the t shows clearly on my own photograph, as does the tail of the bird which is clearly the vulture and not the quail chick. The name is not attested in PN, but it does occur for a woman in the 18th Dynasty on a stela in the British Museum, nr. 322), see J. Leiblein, Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques I (Christiana: 1871) 225 nr. 675. There is just enough room in the now-missing 7th line to restore m3'-hrw.
79. See above, n. 73.
80. For the significance of ears on stelae, see now my "Reshep Times Two", in W.K.Simpson and W.M.Davis, eds., Studies in Ancient Egypt, The Aegean, and the Sudan: Essays in honour of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980 (Boston: 1980) 164-165, nn. 52-54, and, earlier, M. Sandman-Holmberg, The God Ptah (Lund: 1946) 69-73, Blok, op. cit. 123-135. That the ears are all from the same side of the head, rather than being in pairs, is apparently of no particular import, since they are almost as frequently attested on stelae in this manner as in pairs and multiple pairs. See also stela nr. 11 and, also, Section F, nn. 190-200, below.
81. For the epithet, see my "Reshep Times Two", n. 54, and, especially Sandman-Holmberg, op. cit. 74-75. One wonders if, in the multiplicity of the ears, there is not a rebus, with the first pair to be read msdr.wy "the pair of ears" and the second sdm.wy "the ones which hear (scl. prayers)". Such a suggestion is even more tempting in those instances where

more than four ears are pictured, e.g. stelae Hildesheim 375 (published by Habachi, op. cit. pl. 34 B), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.205.2E (published by Petrie, Memphis I, pl. 11, nr. 19), Copenhagen AeIN 1016 (ibid., pl. 13, nr. 20), University College, London, 14398 (ibid., pl. 20, nr. 48), passim. In such cases, the additional ears might also be read as a participle, only this time in the passive rather than the active voice, and as a plural sdm.w "that which is to be heard". Support for such an interpretation is, perhaps, to be found in the famous passage in the Maxims of Ptahhotpe, lines 534-563 (published by Z. Žába, Les Maximes de Ptahhotep [Prague: 1956] 58-61) where the key word sdm is repeated over and over, each time with a different nuance, in a literary masterpiece of the type of punning which the Egyptians so loved.

82. While it is not possible on the evidence of the name alone, without the title or other corroborating data, it is, nevertheless, tempting to identify him with the well-known royal butler under Ramesses II, Ramessesesashahebsed. On the latter, see now the stimulating article of Spalinger, "A Fragmentary Biography", The SSEA Journal 10 (1979-1980) 215-228.
83. Starting at the right of the lintel and facing to the right, one can, perhaps, with a strong imagination, discern the trace of vertical sign, followed by a cartouche containing a name ending in -ms-s(w), with a number of faint, indistinct vertical hieroglyphs following. Although inscriptions on representations of gates on stelae are not particularly common, they are attested, e.g. stelae nrs. 1 and 4 above each show a pair of vertical cartouches in the center of the lin-

tel. Admittedly, the possible traces on the lintel of stela nr. 14 are of a horizontal inscription, but horizontally inscribed lintels are also known to exist, e.g. lintel Philadelphia E 13573, unpublished, from the University Museum's 1915-1923 excavations at Memphis, find nr. M-4363, consists of two horizontal lines: above is the winged sundisk, flanked by the epithet "Behdety" and below, facing an 'nh in the center are, at the left, the prenomen of Seti I, "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare', the Beloved of Amūn" and, at the right, his nomen, "the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the Beloved of Mūt".

84. The reed leaf of  $\dot{\text{I}}\text{3w}$  and the body and arm of the seated man with his hand raised in the salutation are clear at the beginning of the lacuna. The curved underside of the k-basket, together with its handle, here reversed so that it is on the left, are still visible. There is just enough room in the break to restore the plural strokes of  $\dot{\text{I}}\text{3w}$  and the horizontal n.
85. For the name, see PN I, 251, 8.
86. As on stelae nrs. 1, 3, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, and 14.
87. Omitted are the rock-cut stela of the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope at Kasr Ibrim, the Aswan stela dated to year 2 of Ramesses II, and the lesser Abu Simbel stelae (nrs. 12 and 13). All are included below in the Appendix to this study, where the reasons for their exclusion from Section C will be given. However they shall, on occasion, be referred to in some of the notes which follow.
88. The men who commissioned these monuments were the heads of the Nubian provincial administration: the viceroy of Kush,

- the legate of Wawat, and possibly a fortress commander.
89. On this personage, see G.A. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia", JEA 6 (1920) 38-40, H. Gauthier, "Les 'Fils Royaux de Kouch' et les personnel administratif de l'Éthiopie", Rec. trav. 39 (1921) 201-205, and Habachi, "The Grafitti and Work" 26-27. For his monuments, see KRI I, 302-303.
  90. For the fan as a badge of office, see Reisner, *op. cit.* 80-82 and pls. 9-10.
  91. Not apparent in Lepsius' drawing, but clear on my own photograph.
  92. So, from Lepsius' drawing. My own photograph, unfortunately, is not clear on this point. See, however, the next note.
  93. It is only on this stela that what the king is doing is explicitly stated in the text, unless the suggestion made in n. 37 above, that the text behind the king on stela nr. 3 is to be read: "the lord of the Two Lands offers the land" is correct. If so, then "offering the land" would mean the same as "crushing the chiefs" of the land involved, here the chiefs of Kush or, rather, of certain Kushite tribes.
  94. This actually was the ka of the king, as was shown by P. Barguet, "Au sujet d'une représentation du ka royal", ASAE 51 (1951) 205-215. For a clear representation of the royal ka in a fully anthropomorphic guise, see tomb relief University College, London, 14481 + 14581, published by Stewart, *op. cit.* pl. 45 nr. 1.
  95. For the most recent discussion of this well-known viceroy of Kush, see M. Dewachter, "Remarques à propos d'huisseries en pierre retrouvées au temple Nord de Ouadi es-Séboua", CRIPPEL 7 (1985) 23-37. For his monuments and the earlier studies



see my "Setau at Memphis", The SSEA Journal 8 (1977-1978) 42-44, and KRI III, 80-111.

96. Not really clear in Lepsius' drawing, but quite visible on my own photograph.
97. The right hand text has nb ḥ'w "lord of Diadems" here. T3.wy is recorded in Lepsius', but not in Habachi's drawing.
98. Habachi's drawing here and in every other instance where a royal name is given in the text omits the later usurpation of Seti II in order to show the original elements of the name of Amenmesse. I have retained the usurpations in my translation, since they are what are seen today. That the rock-stela was cut during Amenmesse's reign is certain, see Habachi's convincing arguments, op. cit. 62-64.
99. The corresponding right hand text here simply mī R' "like Re'".
100. The corresponding right hand text here has mry Hr nb Mī'm "the Beloved of Horus, lord of Miam".
101. Bity is written simply with the Red Crown, for which writing see Wb. II, 435, right hand column.
102. Habachi's drawing shows, vertically, h-w3-w3, where h is obviously an error for the tall n, for, inasmuch as the following pair of w3-signs make it certain that the toponym "Wawa-(t) was to be read, the preceding sign should have been a genetival n. For the office and function of the legate of Wawat, see Gauthier, op. cit. 229-230, where the legate Mery is discussed, and Reisner, op. cit. 84-85.
103. See above, n. 86, for examples.
104. As, e.g. on stelae Gulbenkian Museum, Durham, 1964/176, Munich GL 29, and Cairo JE 13715, see above, n. 12, for the

references.

105. And also on those rock-cut stelae which do not picture the sacrifice being offered in the presence of a god, see nrs. 15-17.
106. The preserved portion of the Durham stela measures 70 x 89 cm. The similarly incomplete stela Munich Gl. 29 measures 135 x 87 cm. A stela found at el-Alamein in 1942 and now republished by Habachi, "The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and the Western Part of the Delta", BIFAO 80 (1980) 20 and pl. 7, measures 70+x x 90+x cm. The only other free-standing royal stela known to me on which the smiting king motif appears, Cairo JE 13715, is intact and measures 144 x 75 cm.
107. See above, n. 12, for the publication. The text reads:  
 "Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the sovereign, great of festivals like Tatenen. When he appears, everyone lives, the likeness of Re', the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', Ramesses-mi-amūn, who captures all lands in valour and victory. None can oppose him. His sword is powerful".
108. See above, n. 12, for the publication. The text reads:  
 "Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the lord of festivals like his father, Ptah-tatenen, Re' who engendered the gods, the one who established the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-(setepenre'), the Horus of Gold, Rich of Years, Great of Victory, the Son of Re', the lord

of Diadems, [Ramesses-]mi'amūn. Words said by Seth, the Great God: 'My beloved son [-----], Words said by the king (or the like)]: 'I have come out of love of you, O Great of Strength. May you be satisfied, for there is made for you [-----]'".

It should be noted that I differ in some details from Barta who, loc. cit., translates line 2: "den Re geboren hat, dem die Götter die beiden Länder gegründet haben". The royal character of such texts is also demonstrated by the very fragmentary preserved portion of the el-Alamein stela (see n. 106 for the reference):

"[-----], the Son of Re', Ramesses-mi'amūn [-----] enemies, together with [their] families(?). He overthrew [-----] upon his right hand of fighting, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re' [-----] he captures the land of Libya in an instant. He is powerful, the one who makes [-----]".

It should be noted that I differ greatly in my translation from that of Habachi, op. cit., 20.

109. But on his own initiative and not by royal command, as was the case with the overseer of treasurers, Neshi, who erected the Kamose stelae, certainly the second and probably the first, at Karnak, as is related at the end of the second stela, see now Helck, Historisch-Biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und Neue Texte der 18. Dynastie (Wiesbaden: 1975) 97 and, earlier, Habachi, The Second Stela of Kamose and His Struggle against the Hyksos Ruler and His Capital (Glückstadt: 1972) 44:

"His majesty commanded the prince and count, the privy counselor of the palace, the chief of the entire land, the royal treasurer, the conductor of the Two Lands, the overseer of the companions, the one who is powerful of arm, Neshi: 'Cause that all which my majesty did in valour be made upon a stela which will rest in its place in Karnak in the Theban nome forever and ever!'

Thereupon he (i.e., Neshi, who is pictured and named at the end of the text) said before his majesty: 'I will act in accordance with all that has been commanded and that which is praised in the presence of the king'."

110. But, if we were to carry this argument to its logical end, we would then have to conclude, absurdly, that any tomb scenes in which the king is pictured are, because of such clear indications, royal tombs!
111. Published by A. Mariette, Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie (Paris: 1879) pl. 30a.
112. Written Pth M3't nb, probably for harmonious reasons.
113. While such a meaning is not really attested for db3 "to dress", "to equip", Wb. V, 556, 1-558, 8, or for db3 "to replace", "to repay", *ibid.* 555, 1-556, 10, it, nevertheless, seems justified from the context. Ramose is doing something with praises to the height of heaven, while he exalts the beauty of Ptah. This can only be something like "sending" or "singing" them to the god.
114. One would expect the preposition r to be employed here for a place, rather than n, but, according to Wb. loc. cit.

neither verb db3 appears to have been construed with r.

115. See my "Reshep Times Two", Section C, and my "The Winged Reshep", Section B, nn. 32-29.
116. See my "Reshep Times Two", Section C, nn. 52-55.
117. Published by A. Erman, "Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt", Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse (Berlin: 1911) 1087-1097 and pl. 16; idem., "Zwei Weihgeschenke aus der thebanischen Nekropole", Amtliche Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen 33 (1911-1912) cols. 15-20 and fig. 14.
118. For other monuments of this man, see Erman, "Denksteine...", 1096, W. Spiegelberg, Aegyptische und Andere Graffiti (In-schriften und Zeichnungen) aus den thebanischen Nekropolis (Heidelberg: 1921) 127 nr. 136. For the name, see PN I, 186, 1, and for the title, A.H.Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I (Oxford: 1947) 71\* nr. 180.
119. See Erman, "Denksteine...", 1087-1110.
120. It may be noted that the front faces of some of the Osiride pillars in the first courtyard of the Medinet Habu temple symbolically picture the sacrifice of the defeated enemy ruler (see Medinet Habu II [Chicago: 1932] pls. 118A, C, E, and 119A). In each of these instances, the depiction of the execution is accompanied by a brief statement of the identity of the victim, respectively: "the wretched chief of the land of Nubia", of "Temeh", of "Ta-sety", of "Peleset", of "Kush", of "Kode", of "Kush" a second time, and of "Hatti". Moreover, the full sacrificial scene is shown on the inner faces of the columns on the south side of the same court-

yard, *ibid.* pls. 120-122. On these Ramesseses is shown smiting Syrians, Libyans, Hittites, various Nubian types, and various other Asiatic (Palestinian) types in the presence of Amūn of Karnak or of Re<sup>c</sup>-Horakhty. As the king is smiting, the god simultaneously offers him a sword (on this, see below, Section F, nn. 206-213). Since the decoration of a particular part of the temple frequently reflected or indicated the particular services, activities, and ceremonies carried on in it, we may accept these pillar-base and column scenes as strong evidence that the ceremonial sacrifice of the defeated enemy prince was one of the functions which was carried out in the first courtyard, i.e., the forecourt, of the temple. This is confirmed, moreover, by certain iconographic details pictured on those stelae which actually take the shape of, or show, the pylon gateway (above, stelae nrs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10-12, 14) where the actual scene of the slaying is always set off horizontally by a very broad and usually empty field at the bottom (though on stela nr. 4 kneeling worshippers are shown here), and by a much narrower empty field above. On stelae nrs. 2, 4, and 5, the upper field is either replaced or capped by the sky-hieroglyph. This runs across the full width of the gate's aperture on two of them, while on the third it covers only the right half of the scene. The sky-hieroglyph should have something more than just a decorative meaning here. I submit that it is a clear and obvious indication that the action which is depicted beneath it is taking place outside, in the open air. The curious empty rectangle below the scene can then be understood as picturing the part of the forecourt itself in which, on

stela nr. 4, the spectators are actually shown.

121. Urk. IV, 1279, and most recently Černý, Le temple d'Amada. Cahier V. Les inscriptions historiques (Cairo: 1967) 6-7 and pls. 2, 7. The same barbarous treatment of the corpse of an enemy chief is likewise recorded in the tomb biography of Ahmose, the son of Ebana, at the outset of the 18th Dynasty (see Urk. IV, 9):

"Then his majesty (Thutmose I) sailed northwards,  
every land in his grasp, that wretched Nubian hang-  
ing head downwards from the prow of his falcon-ship  
and landed at Karnak".

It was not only dead enemy rulers who were transported to Egypt to be humiliatingly exhibited there. An Amarna talatat from Karnak pictures a captured Syrian chief shut up in a cage and hanging from the sailyard of a royal ship, see H. Chevrier, "Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak, 1952-1953", ASAE 53 (1955) pl. 7, and M. Abdul-Kader Mohammed, "The Administration of Syro-Palestine during the New Kingdom", *ibid.* 56 (1959) pl. 1. Compare, also, S. Schott, "Ein ungewöhnliches Symbol des Triumphes über Feinde Aegyptens", JNES 14 (1955) 97-99, for the ideological meaning of such scenes.

122. The taking of hands and phalli as trophies and as evidence for the bodycount of the dead is well-attested, both textually and pictorially, throughout the New Kingdom. Ahmose, the son of Ebana, boasts of the separate occasions when he "carried off as booty" hands (see Urk. IV, 3-5, 7), as does Ahmose-Pennekhbet (*ibid.* 35-36). Before Megiddo, Thutmose III notes of his soldiers (*ibid.* 659) that "they brought the booty which they had carried off, consisting of

hands, of living prisoners, of horses, and of chariots". The loot taken at Megiddo itself (ibid. 663) included "83 hands" and in a list of plunder taken on his final campaign in Asia (ibid. 730-734) includes "29 hands". Amūnhotpe II claims on separate occasions (ibid. 1304, 1307, 1308) and, ~~on the first of these "20 hands were (affixed) to the fore-~~ heads of his horses" as he travelled in his chariot. In the Ibhet campaign of Amūnhotpe III (ibid. 1660) "312 hands" are recorded in the list of booty. In the badly damaged Karnak inscription of Merneptah (KRI IV, 8) "250 hands" were taken from the Shekelesh and "790" from the Teresh. At Medinet Habu, after the conclusion of the 1st Libyan War, the scribes of Ramesses III are pictured in a pair of scenes (Medinet Habu I, pls. 22, 23) recording the totals (running into the thousands) of the hands taken during the fighting. Likewise they are shown doing this after the 2nd Libyan War (ibid. pl. 75). In fact, the triumphal recording of the severed enemy hands and their presentation to the king, even on the battlefield, is frequently attested in Ramesside art, see ibid. pl. 42 and W. Wreszinski, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte II (Leipzig: 1914-1935) pls. 25, 62a, 64, 70, and 169, all of which show the same incident at the battle of Kadesh as portrayed on different temple walls. An Amarna block from Karnak (see J. Leclant, "Fouilles et travaux en Égypte, 1952-1955", Orientalia 23 [1954] 65, and Helck, "Abgeschlagene Hände als Siegeszeichen", GM 18 [1975] 23-24 with fig.) pictures a file of Egyptian soldiers marching, each with human hands spitted on his spearpoint, and in a Kadesh scene (see Wreszinski, op. cit. II, pl. 70) an Egyp-



tian officer carries a coil of rope to which a number of severed hands are threaded. The great Karnak inscription of Merneptah (see KRI IV, 7) describes:

"asses ... laden with the uncircumsized phalli of the land of Libya, together with the severed hands of [every?] country which was with them",

and a passage in a Ramesside literary text, P. Anastasi II, 5, 3-4, in praise of Merneptah gloats:

"How pleasant is your going to Thebes, victorious (nḥt.ti, which is crossed out in the original text), bowed down with hads and with chiefs pinioned in front of you. You will offer them to your glorious father, Amūnkamūtef".

In view of the foregoing, the walls of Thebes and of the other Egyptian cities must have presented a revolting spectacle, festooned with these gruesome tokens of victory.

123. This certainly would have been the case with the Syrian chief suspended in a cage from a ship's yardarm (see n. 121, above) and, in fact, the stela of year 4 of Merneptah from Amada (published A. Abd-El-Hamid Youssef, "Merneptah's fourth Year Text at Amada", ASAE 58 [1965] 273-280, and more recently by Černý, Le temple d'Amada 1-3 and pls. 4, 5, 8), though damaged and corrupt, and applying to the followers rather than to their rulers, graphically depicts this:

"There was no occasion for their survival. All of the people of Libya were carried off. ... They were given to the [----] in hundreds of thousands and tens of thousands, the remainder being impaled to the south of Memphis, destroyed. Everything was carried

off to Egypt. ... The Medjai(?) were carried off to Egypt and fire was hurled against their multitude in the presence of their relatives(?). (As to) the remainder, their hands were cut off because of their crime, and others had eyes and ears removed".

Since impalement was also inflicted on the defeated Nubians of Ikayta after the Nubian war of year 12 of Akhenaton (see stela Durham 1966/188 + 1966/213 + Philadelphia E 16022 A-B, published by H.S. Smith, The Fortress of Buhen 124-125 and pls. 29 and 75 nrs. 3-4, and most recently in my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton", L'Égyptologie en 1979: Axes prioritaires de recherches II (Paris: 1982) 300-302), we may well assume that it was a regular feature of the punishments meted out to Egypt's defeated enemies. The reference to the Libyans being "impaled to the south of Memphis" makes it clear that, like those defeated chiefs whose bodies were hung from the walls of Thebes and Napata, the humiliation of the conquered foe, dead or alive, provided a public spectacle for the Egyptians to gloat over.

124. Published by the Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I pls. 2-14, 22-36. The most recent publication of the texts is KRI I, 6-11, 13-15, 17-32. The most recent study of them is that of W. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh. A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak. (Chicago: 1985). See also below, n. 477.
125. Published in Medinet Habu I, pls. 9-11, 13-24, 26, 29-44, and II, pls. 62-78, 87-99. The most recent edition of the texts is that of KRI V, 8-20, 27-37, 43-54, 78-87. The best study, translation of them, and critical commentary is still that of

W.F. Edgerton and J.A. Wilson, Historical Records of Ramses III (Chicago: 1936).

126. For the arrangement of the Seti I scenes, compare the convenient schematic drawing of their placement on the north and east walls of the great Hypostyle Hall, between the 2nd and 3rd Pylons at Karnak published by Breasted in ARE II, 39: the campaigns against the Shasu and Syrians, begins on the northern end of the east wall and continues along the north wall, with the sacrificial scene, the largest in the series, positioned immediately to the left of the doorway in the center of the north wall. Correspondingly, the series illustrating the wars against the Hittites and the Libyans, which occupies the western half of the north hall, with the final scene, the sacrifice, positioned just to the west of the doorway. Even more telling is the placement of these scenes at Medinet Habu. The historical series covers the faces of the north and south outer walls, starting at the back and ending on the exterior faces of the south and north towers of the pylon, each of which bear only the single picture of the king smiting his foes. This, on a truly monumental scale, fills the vast expanses of the faces of the towers. This scene is repeated, moreover, on the exterior of the 1st Pylon of many other temples, Luxor, Edfu, and Philae, to cite but a few.
127. See above, n. 8, and the literature cited there and add Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Médineh (1935-1940) 61-64, "Note 8: Le roi vainqueur des peuples étrangers".
128. Published by L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahu-Re' II (Leipzig: 1913) pl. 1.

129. For the Pepi I version, see J. Leclant, "La 'famille libyenne' au temple haut de Pépi Ier", Livre du centenaire 1880-1980 (Cairo: 1980) pl. 2. For the Pepi II version, see G. Jequier, Le monument funéraire de Pépi II I (Cairo: 1938) pl. 8. For the Kushite version of Taharka, see M.F.L. Macadam, The Temples of Kawa. II. History and Archaeology of the Site (Oxford: 1955) pl. 15. For the implication of the repetition of this particular scene and its potential value as an historical document, see my "Beyond the Fringe: Sources for Old Kingdom Foreign Affairs", The SSEA Journal 9 (1978-1979) 87-88 and, earlier, Wilson's pioneering study, "The Royal Myth in Ancient Egypt", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 100 (1956) 439-442.
130. See G.A. Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art (Mainz am Rhein: 1976) 94-131 (= chap. 7) which is mainly concerned with Ramesside war scenes, for a particularly illuminating and enlightening discussion on this point. His trenchant comments on the nature of such "historical" scenes and texts, particularly those of Ramesses III (128) are worth quoting:
- "... the texts of Ramesses III are rather rhetorical and very rarely give any specific event, location or characters. Instead they concentrate almost wholly upon the divine personality of the king. These qualities are more or less repeated in the reliefs. The scenes are repetitive and conventional. Each scene is mainly centered around the heroic figure of the king. His commanding, dominating image is everywhere we turn and always attracts our attention more than the event depicted. ... In such composition

where the king is absolutely victorious and the enemy is utterly defeated, the divine power of the king meets no real challenge. ... Even the presence of Egyptian and foreign troops in the battles does not reduce the supremacy of the king".

131. Op. cit. 439.

132. These were made by "the 'scribe' in the house of 'gold', Ramose" (nr. 1), "the hry-wr-priest, Iry" (nr. 3), "the w' b-priest of Ptaḥ, Bestu" (nr. 4), "the scribe in the Place of Eternity, Ramose" (nr. 6), "the shield-bearer, the one from the foreign land, Wosimare'nakht who will be justified" (nr. 8), "the overseer of weavers, Ramose" (nr. 9), "Ashahebsed" (nr. 11), "Hori" (nr. 14). On the other hand, stelae nrs. 15-17 were dedicated by "the first charioteer of his majesty, the fan-bearer on the right hand of the king, the overseer of the Southern Land, the king's son of Kush, Amenemope", nrs. 18a-b were commissioned by "the king's son of Kush, Setau", and nr. 19 by "the legate of Wawat, Mery".

133. See above, nn. 121-123, and the references cited there.

134. Although in the case of the Amada text of Amūnhotpe II (n. 121, above) the implication seems to be that the prisoners were clubbed to death before the king returned to Thebes, the text is not as to whether this took place on the battlefield. Were they first captured during the campaign and then slain by the king after the final battle, or were they killed by him during the course of several battles? There is evidence for both possibilities.

135. See above, stelae nr. 18a-b.

136. Just the year is given. See, however, n. 140, below.

137. The text following the year date on each of the duplicates of the stela contains only the titulary of Ramesses II. Those accompanying the figure of Setau contain a pious wish for the king, on the one hand (nr. 18a), and a statement that Setau praises him (nr. 18b), on the other. Nothing more.
138. See J.D. Schmidt, Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for His Reign (Baltimore: 1973) 49.
139. While, of course, this is only speculation, it may be noted that the execution of the Libyans taken in the war of Merneptah's year 4 took place in that same year, and that the Nubians of Ikayta captured in Akhenaton's Nubian War of year 12 were also dispatched in year 12 (see above, n. 123, for references).
140. See LD III, pl. 195b-c. On both of the stelae the prisoners seem to have long hair and beards. If so, they can hardly be Nubians. However, my own photograph of the captive on the south stela clearly shows a Nubian. Moreover, Lepsius' drawing shows only a single prisoner on the north stela when there are actually two. The Asiatic nationality of the captives on the north stela was possibly deliberate on the part of the artist to balance the Nubian triumph on the south stela.
141. For the wars of Ramesses II, see KRI II, 151 (the dated documents) and 152-222 (the undated documents). For the probability that the undated documents of the Asiatic wars refer to events after the battle of Kadesh but before year 18, see my "Aspects of Ramesside Diplomacy: The Treaty of Year 21", The SSEA Journal 8 (1977-1978) 125-126, nn. 32-33. It is not impossible that the events recorded in some of the un-

dated documents referring to Nubian wars may have taken place around year 38, but if this were so, it cannot be proven in the light of the present extant evidence.

142. But see the end of n. 140, above.

143. Habachi, "The Graffiti and Work..." 27, saw the rock-cut stelae of the viceroy, Amenemope, at Aswan (above, nrs. 15-17) as evidence for a Nubian victory of Seti I which Faulkner, CAH 3rd ed. II chap. 23, 224, connects with the panegyric at Kasr Ibrim (below, Appendix, stela nr. 31) and the Nubian War of Seti's year 8? which is recorded on a stela from Amarah West and on its duplicate from Sai, see KRI I, 102-104 and, for the reading of the date, K.A. Kitchen, "Historical Observations on Ramesside Nubia", in E. Endesfelder et al., eds. Aegypten und Kush (Berlin: 1977) 214-219 and J. Vercoutter, "Un campagne militaire de Seti I en Haute Nubie", Rev. d'Eg. 24 (1972) 201-208; see also nn. 162 and 166 below. In this they are followed by Spalinger, "Traces of the Early Career of Ramesses II", JNES 38 (1979) 276-281. Spalinger also sees the Nubian war pictured at the Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses II (see H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II [Chicago: 1967] pl. 8) and also the Aswan stela dated to "year 3, month 3 of Shomu, day 26" of Ramesses II (below, Appendix, stela nr. 22) which was dedicated by an official (possibly a fortress commander, if the restoration of KRI II, 345 n. 10b is correct) whose name is too illegible, for me at least, to read. In this they are certainly correct, for, in spite of the arguments of T. Sæve-Söderbergh, Aegypten und Nubien (Lund: 1941) 168, that the rock-stelae only contained stereotyped inscrip-

tions of the king, devoid of any real historical context, it is difficult, if not impossible, to disassociate the Aswan rock-cut stelae from that at Kasr Ibrim. That the latter did reflect a real war is effectively argued by R.A. Caminos, The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim (London: 1968) 86. The Aswan inscription of year 2 of Ramesses II, which contains an encomium to the king similar to that of the Kasr Ibrim text, has been taken as a straightforward historical document (e.g. ARE III, 204-205, pars. 478-479) although there is only a bare allusion in it, and then only in the most conventional terms, to the crushing of both Nubians and Temehu Libyans. Nevertheless, these inscriptions, even without the positive confirmation of the Amarah West and Sai stelae, or the implied confirmation possibly supplied by the Nubian warscenes at Beit el-Wali (see Spalinger, loc. cit. for these illustrating a war waged under Seti I, even though Ramesses II appears in them as king), more than circumstantially attest a Nubian war of Seti I. The Sai and Amarah West stelae allow us to locate it more precisely in his reign. The figure of the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, is crucial to this, since we know that he was followed in office by the viceroy Iuny, probably in Seti's 9th or 10th regnal year according to Spalinger, loc. cit. 285, although I see no reason why this could not have taken place as late as year 11, the year Seti died. Reisner, "The Viceroys of Ethiopia..." 38, allowed Amenemope a tenure of some 15 years, from ca. 1315-1290. If Seti's Nubian war took place in year 8 and he came to the throne around 1318 (following Faulkner's chronology in CAH), then, even considering that the dates in question



are only approximate, it is still not improbable that Amenemope acceded to the viceroyalty previously held by his father, Paser, just around the time of Seti's war in Nubia. Since his presentation of the tribute of Nubia to and his reward in the presence of Ramesses II pictured at Beit el-Wali (see below, Chapter 2, Section A, n. 215) are not to be accepted at face value as having taken place under the latter, but, according to Spalinger, *op. cit.* 280-281, reflect, rather, his activity under Seti I, he certainly would have participated in this war. I leave open the question, however, of whether it was he or Ramesses II as crown prince who commanded the Egyptian forces. With the Aswan and Kasr Ibrim rock-stelae, then, Amenemope would have commemorated not only the king's victory and his own role in it, but also his installation in office. This same rationale may be applied to the Aswan inscription of Ramesses II's year 2 as well, for while it may and should have some sort of historical basis insofar as it was commissioned by a private individual, it seems reasonable to suppose that there there was another reason for its commissioning other than those furnished by its generalized historical allusions. This could very well have been the appointment of its dedicator, whatever his name might have been, to his post.

144. See above, n. 123.

145. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 21.

146. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 20.

147. For the unit called the "company" (s3) and its importance within the structure of the Egyptian military establishment, see my Military Rank 26-30 pars. 46-59. For the rank borne

by Mose, w'w, see *ibid.* 36-37 pars. 77-83. It is most probable that, in the case of Mose, here w'w did not indicate a specific rank, but simply meant "soldier" in the most general sense, see *ibid.* 37 par. 82. As a distinct rank, w'w "infantry soldier" was that of an ordinary ranker, the lowest of the low within the military hierarchy. Mose, on the other hand, was clearly a high-ranking officer of the unit and probably even commanded it.

148. For the name, see PN I, 248 nr. 19. For his other monuments see KRI I, 310-319.
149. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 22.
150. See below, Chapter 2, Section B, stela nr. 26.
151. While this is undoubtedly the case with the rock-cut stelae, it does not always seem to have been so with respect to the free-standing monuments. Stela Hannover 1935.200.230 (see above, nr. 3) while clearly bearing the cartouches of Thutmose IV, nevertheless on stylistic grounds, particularly in the treatment of the figures and the details of their dress, looks to be of a later, Ramesside, date and is, in fact, so dated by Munro, Stadel-Jahrbuch N.F. 3 (1971) 35, a date also accepted by the editors of PM (Personal Communication from Dr. J. Málek dated 20 November 1980) and subsequently confirmed by conversations with various colleagues at the Brooklyn Museum, notably James Romano, Richard Fazzini, and Betsy Bryan, in March of 1981. Obviously a Ramesside date for a stela bearing cartouches of an 18th dynasty ruler would seem to present difficulties for the thesis which I have proposed above in Section E above. Dr. Bryan, however, has made the quite plausible suggestion to me that, since we

know that there was a cult of the deified Thutmose IV in the Ramesside period, it could very well be that the scene on Hannover 1935.200.235 pictures a reenactment within the cultic ritual of a major event from the lifetime of the deified king, in other words, a reenactment of the original actual ceremony with a priest playing the role the king in much the same way as the Myth of Horus at Edfu reenacts the triumph of Horus over Seth (see, most recently, H.W. Fairman, The Triumph of Horus: An Ancient Egyptian Sacred Drama [London: 1974]). While it is true that most of what we know about the cults of deified kings is in regard to their functioning as oracles (see Cerny, "Egyptian Oracles" in R.A.Parker, A Saite Oracle Papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum [Providence: 1962] 41-44), such a drama and portrayal of the important events of their lives and reigns could quite plausibly have been part of these rituals. The cults of the deified Amūn-hotpe I and the deified Ahmose-Nefertari have been well-studied, see Černý, "Le culte d'Amenophis Ier chez les ouvriers de la nécropole thébaine", BIFAO 27 (1927) 159-203. That of the deified Thutmose IV is less well-known. To the best of my knowledge, it is mainly attested by representations of offerings being made to his cult statue, see, e.g., stelae Philadelphia E 11486, published by W.L.S. Loat, Gurob (London: 1905) pl. 16 nr. 2, Leiden AP 62, published by Boeser, op. cit. (above, n. 13), and Cairo CG 24.170. For the cults of deified kings other than those of the New Kingdom rulers, see D. Wildung, Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt (Berlin: 1969) and most recently his Egyptian Saints: Deification in Pharaonic Egypt (New York: 1977) where

he also deals with the non-royal personages, Imhotep and Amūnhotpe son of Hapi. For the personnel attached to a typical cult statue of a deified king in the Ramesside period, see my "A Cult of Ramesses III at Memphis", JNES 22 (1963) 177-184 and Helck, "Zum Kult am Königsstatuen", *ibid.* 25 (1966) 32-41. It should be stressed that this explanation for the Ramesside date of Hannover 1935.200.230 supports, rather than challenges, my idea that the scene involved portrays a real event. If, however, this is not acceptable, then the only logical alternative left to me, if my basic premise is correct, is to assume that the Ramesside date is incorrect. I am loath to do this in spite of the fact that dating on stylistic grounds is not always absolute and that many of the features used to support a Ramesside date for the stela do appear already in the 18th Dynasty.

152. See above, stelae nrs. 1 (a Libyan), 2 (an Asiatic or a Libyan), 3 (a Nubian and an Asiatic), 4 (an Asiatic).
153. Urk. IV, 1545-1548. For a fuller bibliography see PM V, 254, and for the most recent treatment Bryan, *op. cit.* 417-422. For opposing views on the date of the Konosso stela, see Helck, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Uebersetzung zu den Heften 17-22 (Berlin: 1961) 148 n. 2 and D.B. Redford, "The Chronology of the Egyptian Eighteenth Dynasty", JNES 25 (1966) 120.
154. For the most recent and best study of Thutmose's military activity in Asia, see the penetrating analysis of Bryan, *op. cit.* 417-422, in which she corrects all the misconceptions offered by R. Givon, "Tuthmosis IV and Asia", JNES 28 (1969) 54-59. Bryan has convincingly and persuasively dem-

onstrated that he waged only a single campaign, in Syria, and that any activity carried out in Palestine was nothing more than a "showing of the flag".


115. Assuming that the now mostly-lost text of the Konosso stela of year 7 did refer to some sort of military activity in Nubia, see Urk. IV, 1555-1556, and also assuming with both Redford and Bryan, loc. cit. that the date is not to be emended as Helck, loc. cit. proposes to year 8, then it still does not seem likely, given the probable logistical abilities of a New Kingdom army, even when led by the king in person, to have been able to have successfully campaigned in both Asia and Nubia in the same year. The most aggressive and energetic 18th Dynasty rulers, Thutmose III and Amū-hotpe II, did not attempt to war in both the north and the south in the same regnal year. With this in mind and remembering that the highest date attested for Thutmose IV is regnal year 8 on the Konosso stela (against Baer's supposed year 20 of this king, see Bryan, op. cit. 5-9), then some time during regnal year 6 is clearly the latest possible date for his military activity in Asia to have taken place.
156. Certainly we should not expect to find pictures of Nubians being ceremonially sacrificed before the campaigning against them had been concluded victoriously. It is perhaps significant in this respect that, of the four stelae bearing the cartouche of Thutmose IV, three, nrs. 1, 2, and 4, are iconographically so similar in showing the actual pylon gate as to suggest that they were carved at the same time. Stela nr. 3, which seems to be Ramesside in date and which pictures a ritual reenactment of the ceremony pictured on the other



three (see n. 151) obviously was carved long after the actual event took place.

157. See my "A Private Triumph in Brooklyn, Hildesheim and Berlin", JARCE 7 (1968) 34 and particularly n. 37 with the literature cited there.
158. See my "'Ankhesenamun, Nofretity, and the Amka Affair", JARCE 15 (1978) 46 and nn. 17-22, especially 22.
159. See above, stelae nrs. 15 and 16. However, on the stela which Amenemope had carved at Kasr Ibrim (Appendix, nr. 31) the prisoner is clearly a Nubian.
160. See above, n. 143, also for references. While Sæve-Söderbergh, loc. cit. argues that since no indications of this war are included in the historical scenes and lists of Seti I at Karnak, it could hardly have been more than a simple "showing of the flag". In this he is followed by A.J. Arkell, A History of the Sudan from the Earliest Times to 1821 2nd ed. (London: 1961) 95. Faulkner, loc. cit. likewise sees this as nothing more than a punitive enforcing of the Egyptian peace in the South. However, it might be noted on the one hand that Sai and Amarah West where the two copies of the inscription recording this fighting were found are relatively close to each other, so that a case could be made for their having been erected there for purely local consumption. On the other hand, the Nubian region against which Seti campaigned has not been located with certainty as being in the vicinity of Amarah West or Sai. For Irem as a place and not a tribal name, as Faulkner assumes it to be, see K. Zibelius, Afrikanischer Orts- und Völkernamen im hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten (Wiesbaden: 1972) 84-85. Moreover, if the Nubian victory of the king alluded to at

Kasr Ibrim and suggested by the rock-cut stelae at Aswan also refer to the same war, we may safely assert that Seti's triumph was proclaimed throughout the length of Nubia, something we would not expect to have been the case for a mere punitive action. Clearly, then, Seti I's Nubian war, even though not attested at Karnak, was a major small war, a colonial war. For the distinction between small colonial wars and major wars, see my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton" Sections A and C.

161. See above, n. 143.

162. The date, badly damaged, is preserved only in the Amarah West version (see KRI I, 102). It reads: 

It is more likely that it is to be restored to anything other than  or , with the former more likely. For the restoration of year 9, the upper five integers would have had to have been squeezed very closely together to fit the available space, but see n. 166 below.

163. See above, n. 138.

164. See above, stela nr. 6.

165. See above, n. 59 with the literature cited there.

166. See W.J. Murnane, Ancient Egyptian Coregencies (Chicago: 1977) 67-70, where the arguments both for and against the early dates of these scenes and hence the coregency are clearly given. It occurs to me that, since the coregency seems to have lasted until year 2 of Ramesses II and to have overlapped the two years of Seti I (Murnane, *ibid.*, 81-87), it is not impossible that the Nubian war illustrated at Beit el-Wali and alluded to in the Aswan stela of year 2 of Ramesses (so Breasted, ARE III, 205 par. 478 and Murnane, *op.*

- cit. 87) was identical to the Nubian war of Seti, in which case the damaged date of the Amarah West stela is to be restored as regnal year 9, in spite of my remarks in n. 162, above.
167. For the Nubian war pictured at Derr, see A.M. Blackman, The Temple of Derr (Cairo: 1913) pls. 13-20. For additional bibliography, see PM VII, 85.
168. See KRI II, 1 (the middle stela of year 4 of Ramesses II at the Nahr el-Kelb) and for additional bibliography, PM VII, 385.
169. See stela nr. 7 and n. 61 above.
170. See n. 98 above. The name of the stela's dedicator, Mery, has not been altered. This suggests to me that he continued in office as the legate of Wawat after Seti II came to power. In fact, he may even have been responsible for the usurpation of Amenmesse's name, perhaps as a protestation or affirmation of loyalty to the new regime.
171. See above, Section D, end.
172. So Gardiner, Egypt of the Pharaohs (Oxford: 1961) 288. Faulkner, op. cit. 243, however, suggests that there may have been a grain of historical reality underlying these Syrian war scenes. For the historicity of Ramesses III's wars in general, see now L.H. Lesko, "The Wars of Ramses III", Serapis 6 (1980) 83-86.
173. So Faulkner, loc. cit.
174. See above, n. 8 with the literature cited there, but note also the comments of Gardiner and Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai 27-28.
174. E.g., while nowhere among the other documents preserved from



his reign is there any other evidence of activity of Thutmose IV in Libya or against Libya, that fact that a Libyan is depicted on one (nr. 1) and possibly two (nr. 2) of the stelae unequivocally dated to his reign should have some meaning. While it is, at best, indirect evidence, it nevertheless is evidence for an implied hostile action against Egypt's unruly eastern neighbours in the reign of Thutmose IV. Similarly, stela nr. 19 provides at least one new historical datum for the little-known reign of Amenmesse, an action in Nubia which then, implicitly through the replacement of his name by that of Seti II, allowed this same action to be attributed to the latter.

176. See above, stelae nrs. 1-5, 7, 9-14.
177. Stelae nrs. 1, 2, 9, 10, 13.
178. Stelae nrs. 11 and 14.
179. Stelae nrs. 4 and 12.
180. Stelae nrs. 3, 5, 7.
181. Stela nr. 4. See n. 45 for its probable Memphite origin.
182. It is on these grounds that Bryan, op. cit. 241, assigns a Memphite provenance to it.
183. I attribute a Memphite origin to stela nr. 11, which was purchased at Giza, and possibly also to nr. 14, which was purchased from a Cairo dealer, not because they were acquired in the Memphite region, but because of the homogeneous stylistic and iconographic attributes which they share with those excavated at Memphis (above, n. 177). In the case of nr. 4, a Theban provenance has been postulated without any such basis only on the assumption of Allen, see above n. 45, and this, probably wrongly, has become fixed in the literature. For the

ramifications of such arbitrary attributions of the origins of objects, see the brilliant and penetrating study of O.W. Muscarella, "Ziwe and Ziwe: The Forgery of a Proviene", Journal of Field Archaeology 4 nr. 2 (1977) 197-218.

184. A reasonable and not unprecedented assumption, see my "A Memphite Stela, The Bark of Ptah...", 87 n. 8, 90.
185. Stela nr. 8.
186. Stela nr. 6.
187. Stelae nrs. 18a-b, 19.
188. Stelae nrs. 15-17. A god is present in the Kasr Ibrim scene (Appendix, stela nr.31), but since his upper body and head are missing, his identity is in question. Probably, however, he was Horus of Miam, in which case the sacrifice could have taken place in his temple, possibly located across the river, in Aniba.
189. See stelae nrs. 1, 2, 4, 5, 10-12. Of these, only nrs. 10 and 12 picture two prisoners. Where the nationalities can be identified, they are a Libyan (nrs. 1, 11, 12), an Asiatic (nrs. 4, 12) and either an Asiatic or a Libyan (nr. 2).
190. Stelae nrs. 10 (four ears) and 11 (at least two ears).
191. See above, n. 81.
192. See stela Rochedale, number not known (published by Petrie, Memphis I pl. 11 nr. 15) and statuette-stela Cairo JE 45555 (published in my "Reshep Times Two" 165 fig. 3). On a number other stelae on which both Ptah and ears are pictured, there is no way of determining if the epithet was also present since these are too fragmentary or otherwise damaged, e.g. stelae Dublin 518-9.08 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 13 nr. 29), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.2052B (ibid. pl.

- 10 nr. 13), Memphis I pl. 11 nr. 20 and Riggeh and Memphis VI pl. 55 nr. 13, the locations of both which are unknown, Cambridge EGA 4256.1943 (unpublished), Hannover 1935.200.203 (= ex-Museum Scheurleer S-995, published by Blok, op. cit. pl. 9 nr. 2) and Hannover 1935.200.205 (= ex-Museum Scheurleer S-60, published *ibid.* pl. 8 nr. 2).
193. The only examples known to me all come from the 1915-1923 excavations of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania at Memphis and all are unpublished: stelae Philadelphia E 13570 (find nr. M-4374), E 13594 (find nr. M-2753), E 13604 (find nr. M-2794), E 13613 (find nr. M-2970), E 13624 (find nr. M-3142), E 13628 (find nr. M-4375), 29-75-564 (find nr. M-2776), and 29-75-565 (find nr. M-2812).
194. E.g., stelae British Museum 1472 (published by Petrie, Memphis I pl. 10 nr. 14), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.20-52E (*ibid.* pl. 11 nr. 19), British Museum 589 (published by James, op. cit. pl. 31), British Museum 1466 (published by E.A.W. Budge, A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture) [London: 1909] 304-305, Hildesheim 375 (published by Habachi, "Khata<sup>f</sup>na-Qantir..." pl. 34B), Hannover 1935.200.687 (= ex-Museum Scheurleer S-27, published by Blok, op. cit. pl. 8 nr. 1), Berlin 13271, unpublished, but see Königliche Museen zu Berlin, Ausführliches Verzeichnis der Ägyptischen Altertümer und Gipsabgüsse 2nd ed. (Berlin: 1899) 34.
195. E.g., stelae University College, London, 14393 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 10 nr. 9) and Louvre E 24852 (unpublished), both of which bear a single ear along with the name of Ptah. For those stelae picturing a single or multiple ears and which are usually attributed to Ptah but, in fact,

- have no divine name written on them, see nn. 198-199, below.
196. See stelae Manchester 4905.8 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 10 nr. 10) and Dublin 518-9.08 (ibid. nr. 12). The Manchester stela has the epithet as well as Ptah's name and the the ears.
197. E.g., stelae Philadelphia E 12507 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 12 nr. 24), ex-Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.2052D (ibid. pl. 12 nr. 22), Brussels E 4498 (ibid. nr. 21), Brussels without number (ibid. nr. 25), British Museum 1471 (ibid. pl. 30 nr. 30), Copenhagen AeIn 1017 (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 18), Cairo JE 35175 from Mit Rahineh (unpublished), University College, London, 14398 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 20 nr. 48), Manchester 4909 (published ibid. pl. 13 nr. 49), Edinburgh 1908.363 (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 17), and Bristol E 2218A (ibid. pl. 11 nr. 16).
198. See, e.g., stelae Turin 50051 (published by Tosi and Roccati, op. cit. 282): Soped; Turin 50052 (ibid. 283): Khonsu; Cairo JE 43691 (published by Bruyère, "Quelques stèles trouvées par M.É. Baraize à Deir el Médineh", ASAE 25 [1925] pl. 2 nr. 2), Manchester 4910 (published by Petrie, op. cit. pl. 18 nr. 21); Bankes 16 (published by Černý, Egyptian Stelae pl. 16): Hathor; Brooklyn 37.1515E (published by S. Sharpe, Egyptian inscriptions from the British Museum and other sources 2nd series [London: 1841] pl. 39), Brooklyn 37.1534E (unpublished), Berlin 7354 (published by A. Erman, Die Religion der Aegypter [Berlin: 1934] 145 fig. 53), and Cairo JE 43566 (published by Bruyère, op. cit. pl. 2 nr. 1): Amūnre'; British Museum 358 (published by Budge, Sculpture pl. 21): Min or Minamūn, the figure is clearly that of the ithyphallic

Min, but the caption names him "Amūnre", the Bull of his mother, the king of the gods"; Turin 50026 (published by Tosi and Roccati, op. cit. 270): Nebethetep; Turin 50027 (ibid. 275) and Louvre E 662 (mentioned by Bruyere, op. cit. 85): the deified Ahmose-Nefertari; British Museum 276 (published by H.R.Hall, Hieroglyphic texts ... V, pl.43 nr.2): Haroeris; Munich 287 (published by Habachi, "The Qantir Stela of the Vizier Rahotep and the Statue Ruler-of-Rulers", Festgabe für Dr. Walter Will Ehrensensator der Universität München (Köln: 1966) 68): the cult statue of Ramesses-mi'amūn-Ruler-of-Rulers"; Brussels E 3047 (published by J. Capart, "Stèles égyptiennes", Bulletin des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire 12 [1913] 62 fig. 3): a cult statue of Ramesses II, possibly "Ramesses-montuemtowe"; University College, London, 14409 (published by Stewart, op. cit. pl. 31 nr. 2): the Osiris emblem; Metropolitan Museum of Art 08.202.34 (unpublished, but see W.C. Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II (New York: 1959) 384), Cairo JE 72294 (published by S.Hassan, The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets [Cairo: 1953] 43 fig. 31 nr. 9), two small stelae, whereabouts now unknown, but which were described by A. Kamal, "Rapport sur les fouilles du Comte du Galarza", ASAE 10 (1910) 117-118, and Cairo JE 72267 (unpublished but described by C. M. Zivie, Giza au deuxième millénaire [Cairo: 1976] 246-247): the Sphinx; Cairo JE 72297 (published by Hassan, loc. cit. nr. 8) and JE 72298 (ibid. nr. 1): Haramachis; Cairo JE 72293 (ibid. 42 fig. 30 nr. 4): Hormerty; Cairo JE 25417 (published by N.Aimé-Giron, "Adversaria Semitica (III). VII—Ba'al Saphon et les dieux de Tahpanhès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien", ASAE 40 [1941] pl. 42): Ba'al Saphon;

Hildesheim 402 (published by Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir..." 530) and Hildesheim 1092 (ibid. 533) picture the statue of Ramesses-montuemtowe and the epithet, but no ears are shown. This is also true for Hildesheim 1100 (ibid. 541) and Berlin 14662 + Turin 50067 (published by B. Grdseloff, Les debuts du culte de Reshep en Égypte [Cairo: 1942] pl. 2), both of which picture Reshep and the epithet, but do not show any ears.

199. So Sandman-Holmberg, The God Ptah 70.
200. The following examples were excavated by Petrie at Memphis: stela Manchester 4905-4908 (Memphis I pls. 10 nr. 6 and 13 nrs. 27-28), Philadelphia E 12506 (ibid. pl. 10 nr. 11), University College, London, 14394 (ibid. pl. 13 nr. 26), British Museum, number unknown (ibid. pl. 10 nr. 7), and stela Riggeh and Memphis VI pl. 55 nr. 14, present location unknown. All of these could very well have been dedicated to Ptah. However, stela Cairo JE 72296 (published by Hassan, op. cit. 43 fig. 31 nr. 11) and an unnumbered stela now in a Giza magazine (ibid. nr. 12) were excavated by Hassan near the Sphinx and, although anepigraphic, were probably dedicated like the other ear stela from Giza (see preceding note) to one or another of the manifestations of Horus worshipped there. Stela Berlin 19789 and 20437, both unpublished, are said to have come from Abusir. Stela Brooklyn 16.95 was purchased at Abu Tig, and stela Oriental Institute, Chicago, 11105 (unpublished) and Stockholm MM 10002 (published by B. J. Petersen, "Aegyptische Stelen und Stelenfragmente aus Stockholmer Sammlungen", Opuscula Atheniensia 9 [1963] 100 fig. 5) are both of unknown provenance. Although stela

University College, London, 14432 and 14433 (published, but not illustrated by Stewart, *op. cit.* 38) are said to have possibly come from Memphis and stela Oxford 1892.1093, unpublished, is thought to come from Sakkara. These attributions, however, were probably made on analogy with the excavated Memphite examples, but the truth is that, like the Chicago and Stockholm stelae, their provenance is really not known. They could easily have come from a site other than Memphis. As the case of the two Giza examples suggest, when Ptah is not attested either pictorially or textually on an ear stela, it is quite misleading to assume that it was dedicated to him and to assign such an anepigraphic ear stela a Memphite origin. Other provenances and other deities are equally possible.

201. For Amünre' at Deir el-Medineh, see stela Cairo JE 43566 and for the epithet at Qantir, stelae Hildesheim 1100 and Berlin 14662 + Turin 50067 (Reshep), or Hildesheim 402 and 1092 (Ramesses-montuemtowe). For the exact references, see n. 198 above.
202. This *do ut des* "I give that you may give" concept of reciprocity is well-attested in the *h<sub>1</sub>tp-di-nswt* formula, see W. Federn, "H<sub>1</sub>tp (r)dj(w) (n) 'Inpw: zum Verständnis der vorosirianischen Opferformel", *MDAIK* 16 (1958) 120-130. That the king's gratitude and offering to the god went far beyond the mere sacrifice is amply demonstrated textually, see Gardiner, "Tuthmosis III Returns Thanks to Amun", *JEA* 38 (1952) 6-23.
203. Above, stela nr. 8.
204. Above, stelae nrs. 18a-b.

205. Above, stela nr. 19.
206. E.g. LD III pl. 29 (north outer wall of the great temple of Amūn at Karnak); *ibid.* pls. 139a, 140a (temple of Redesyeh, first room); *ibid.* pls. 144 (north outer wall of the great temple of Amūn at Karnak), 145a (south outer wall at Karnak), 185b (temple of Derr, forehall, left rear), 184a (*ibid.* right rear), 186 (Abu Simbel, great temple, left side of east wall of room F), pl. 187b (Nahr el-Kelb, middle stela), 207d (temple of Ramesses III at Karnak), 209c-d (Medinet Habu, first pylon), 211 (*ibid.* second pylon), stela Philadelphia 29-107-958 (published by A. Rowe, The Topography and History of Beth Shan [Philadelphia: 1930] pl. 46), *passim*.
207. See Medinet Habu I pl. 13.
208. E.g. stelae Philadelphia 29-107-958 (above, n. 206), Cairo CG 34.025 verso, Oriental Institute, Chicago, 14310 (published by U. Hölscher, The Mortuary Temple of Ramesses III II [Chicago: 1951] pl. 14 C), British Museum 66668 (published by Smith, The Fortress of Buhen pl. 79).
209. See above, n. 126, and compare Hölscher, *op. cit.* 5-6.
210. See, e.g. LD III, pls. 129, 144, 145, 207d, 209c, d, 210a, *passim*.
211. For scarabs, see, e.g., Jerusalem J907 (published by Rowe, Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs pl. 15 nr. 579), British Museum 39215 (published by Hall, Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs ... British Museum 109 nr. 1109), 47053 (*ibid.* nr. 1108), 47099 (*ibid.* nr. 1110), 17124 (*ibid.* 221 nr. 2211), *passim*.
212. From the outer face of the north tower of the first pylon. For the full text, see Medinet Habu II pl. 102.
213. From the south face of the vestibule of the second pylon at



Karnak. For the full text, see K.A. Kitchen and G.A. Gaballa, "Ramesside Varia II", ZAeS 96 (1969) pl. 8 and fig. 8, and for an excellent discussion of such "Ramesside Triumphal Texts", *ibid.* 23-28.

## Chapter 2. The Giving of Gold Collars as a Reward

### A

Unlike the scene of the king smiting an enemy in the presence of a god, which does not at all figure in the tomb art of the New Kingdom, that in which a faithful official is personally rewarded by the king (and, in one instance, his wife by the queen) with gold, usually in the form of gold collars, is one of the most popular and important autobiographical motifs found in the private tombs of the New Kingdom from shortly after the middle of the 18th Dynasty through the Ramesside period, with the most numerous examples attested in the rock-cut tombs of Tel el-Amarna,<sup>214</sup> It is also found, in at least two instances, carved on a temple wall, once at Beit el-Wali<sup>215</sup> and once at Karnak.<sup>216</sup> In this scene, the personage who is being honoured, accompanied by several friends and attendants, is shown in the presence of the king (and, often, also the queen) who either sits in a small kiosk<sup>217</sup> or stands at the window of appearances in the palace.<sup>218</sup> In some cases the king and/or the queen are depicted in the very act of handing down the gold collars<sup>219</sup> and in virtually every instance the recipient is shown with his hands raised in an attitude of jubilation, his neck bedecked with the collars, while a pair of attendants annoint him and adjust them to sit properly around his throat and over his shoulders.<sup>220</sup> In the texts which accompany this scene, the speech of the king usually gives his reasons for the bestowal of the reward and that of the rewarder contains his gratitude in reply to his royal master.<sup>221</sup> In most instances the king wears the Blue Crown, but once his headdress is the simple nemes-headcloth<sup>222</sup> and, in another, the nemes surmounted by the atef-crown.<sup>223</sup> Mostly the king is clad in his

normal daily dress, but in the last-cited example he appears in the mummiform gestalt of Osiris.<sup>224</sup> The garb and headgear of the queen varies from representation to representation, regardless of whether she is alone or is accompanying the king.<sup>225</sup> The gold collars which are the principal item being bestowed are of the type which the Egyptians called šby.w. They comprised up to four strands of tightly-strung, heavy, biconical gold beads.<sup>226</sup> When they are shown being worn in both relief and painting (i.e. two-dimensionally)<sup>227</sup> or in sculpture in the round (i.e. three-dimensionally),<sup>228</sup> they are immediately recognizable in two ways. Unlike the broad floral collar which presents an unbroken silhouette at the neck and shoulders of the person wearing it, the curved profile of the last visible bead in each strand of the šby.w characteristically bulges above the line of the shoulder and, since more than one of these collars is worn at the same time, their overlapping curves present a scalloped effect across the chest and shoulders of their wearer. Although other items of reward and honour are not shown actually being conferred in these tomb scenes there are indications in the accompanying texts and ancillary sub-scenes that they included of other pieces of gold jewelry, in one case a pair of linen gloves, gifts of cattle, promotion to higher office, and, as we have seen in the previous chapter, grants of land.<sup>229</sup>

Receiving a reward in the presence of or from the very hand of pharaoh, himself, clearly was a high and memorable point in the life and career of the recipient. Obviously this was the reason it occupied pride of place among the autobiographical scenes of his tomb. Frequently it is not only the actual moment of the bestowal which was depicted. A series of additional tab-

leaux and subscenes continued the narrative, with the recipient, wearing his gold of honour, returning home in his chariot,<sup>230</sup> receiving the acclamation of his colleagues, friends, family, and retainers upon his arrival,<sup>231</sup> and, still proudly wearing the gold collars, feasting at a table.<sup>232</sup> In a few Amarna tombs he is even portrayed wearing the collars while he performs an act of worship having nothing to do with the ceremony of reward on the reveals of the tomb's doorway.<sup>233</sup>

Like the ceremonial sacrifice of a captive enemy prince or its ritual reenactment<sup>234</sup> which the dedicator of a stela witnessed in person and at which he may have been, himself, rewarded,<sup>235</sup> so the ceremony of his reward and/or promotion at the king's own hand was also commemorated by the recipients on stelae. Though not as numerous as those with the smiting scene, all of the examples known to me have been collected and studied in Section B of this chapter. These, however, do not at all present the homogeneous tableau found on the sacrificial scene stelae, but rather include the actual awarding of the gold and some of the narrative stages of its aftermath. Moreover, unlike the stelae with the smiting scene, where the majority of those whose provenance is assured by controlled excavation and which come from a temple,<sup>236</sup> most of those which picture the various stages of the rewarding with gold which also have a firm provenance through controlled excavation come from the tomb.<sup>237</sup> But although they do have a certain mortuary significance, these are not the conventional funerary stelae which contain the stereotyped *hṯp-dī-nswt* formula to insure offerings for the well-being of their deceased owner in the Afterworld. However, some of them do contain invocations of a kind to the *ka-soul* of the person to whom they were dedicated<sup>238</sup>

and one, stela nr. 30, clearly pictures a funerary repast in the Afterworld.

## B

20. Stela Louvre C 213, provenance not known. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 100 x 92 cm. text and scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: Ch. Boreux, Musée National du Louvre: Département des antiquités égyptiennes: guide-catalogue sommaire I (Paris: 1932) 80 and pl. 8, and, earlier: E. Ledrain, La stèle du Collier d'or (Paris: 1876); P. Pierret, Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre II (Paris: 1878) 10; S. Gabra, Les conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaonique. Scenes de recompenses royales aux fonctionnaires (Cairo: 1929) 42-43, pl. 2; KRI I, 309; Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art 130 n. 238. (Fig.22).

Although this rectangular stela is complete, it somewhat disconcertingly appears unfinished. A wide, empty, horizontal field runs across the width of its top, almost as if the artisan who had carved the monument had left this portion deliberately unworked, so that it could either be fashioned or fitted into a cornice. Below this blank space, occupying a little more than three-fifths of the remaining area is the scene with its attendant texts. At the left, facing right, "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Memare', the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah" stands at a window of appearances. Since the lower part of his body is concealed by the balcony, it is clear that he is standing behind the window and looking out. He wears a simple nemes-headcloth, with a uraeus affixed to his brow, a broad collar, and a sleeved garment over his upper body. Leaning forth out of the window, his left hand resting on the edge of a wide cushion which covers the windowsill, he gestures downward with his right hand at a pair of

by w-collars and at a long rectangular object (an ingot of precious metal?) which sit on the plate of a high table with openwork sides. A falcon, its wings outspread and its claws clutching a fan, hovers protectively over the king, and a pair of vertical cartouches behind his back contain his nomen and prenomen. The window is unadorned, save that its upper sill is capped by a cavetto cornice and what appears to be a torus molding. At the right, before the table with the collars, a man stands and looks up at the king, his arms raised high in the gesture of jubilation, his feet set firmly on a ground line. He wears a long, elaborately-pleated wig and a long sleeved-garment with a wide, triangular apron. He is attended by a pair of shaven-headed retainers, each wearing a calf-length pleated kit with a long pleated apron. One adjusts a gold collar around the jubilant's neck, while the other whose hands are above and below his waist looks as if he is about to pick up something, possibly another collar, from the table. This, in reality, would have been right next to the trio, but due to the conventions of Egyptian art, it seems to be at a distance from them. However, on the basis of parallels to the scene, the second attendant may simply be anointing his master with oil.<sup>239</sup> In the field above the men, ten vertical lines of text contain the speeches of both the king and the jubilant. The of the king, the three lines to the left, reads:

"Words spoken by his majesty to the nobles who are at his side: 'Give much gold to the one who is praised, the overseer of the royal harim, Hormin,<sup>240</sup> him whose lifetime is long, whose old age is happy, him without blemish and without fault in the palace, whose utterance is sound,<sup>241</sup> whose comings and goings are at their place,<sup>242</sup> who shall

endure<sup>243</sup> with a goodly burial'".<sup>244</sup>

The response of Hormin, contained in the remaining seven lines, is as follows:

"That which the overseer of seal-bearers,<sup>245</sup> the overseer of the royal harem, Hormin who will be justified, said: 'Your appearance is beautiful,<sup>246</sup> O goodly ruler! Amūn loves you,<sup>247</sup> for you are here<sup>248</sup> forever, like your father, Re', making his lifetime, O ruler who has made me [great] among men, the one<sup>249</sup> who has created me by his ka. There is joy and happiness<sup>250</sup> for the ones near you,<sup>251</sup> those who hear<sup>252</sup> your teaching. I am a humble man, one whom you have caused to be a great man by what you have done. I have achieved a happy old age without (any)one having found fault (in me)'."

Below the entire scene are four horizontal lines of hieroglyphs running the entire width of the stela and reading:

"May the king give an offering to Ptah, the Lord of Ma'at, Divine Ba who lives on Ma'at, who made the gods and men,<sup>253</sup> All-lord who illuminates the lands, that he may give a happy life and endurance upon earth, the passing of a goodly lifetime in peace, and a happy burial which comes from the king, that he may allow the Osiris, the overseer of the harem of the king, Hormin, who will be justified, to appear among the imperishable stars and to shine among the indefatigable stars. A great hecatomb will be made for you in his (i.e., Ptah's) place, the one in which you will be.<sup>254</sup> Your corpse will be glorious like the corpse of the Eternal One.<sup>255</sup> You shall be a ba and it shall enjoy provisions in the place of Wennofer.<sup>256</sup> Anubis

will do the embalming for you and Isis will pour out her milk for you. The (ceremony of) Opening-of-the-Mouth will bring joy to your ka in every good place. The ritual priest will perform the Opening-of-the-Mouth and the Great-est-of-Artificers<sup>257</sup> will cause your ka to be raised up. The haunch of beef will be cut for your ba and it (i.e. the ba) shall be divine in the necropolis. Wennofer shall love you and shall exalt you in the presence of the Ennead".

21. Stela Hildesheim 374, probably from Qantir. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 67 x 47 cm. text and scenes in sunken relief. Bibliography: H. Kayser, Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim (Hildesheim: 1973) 59-60 and pl. 51. Earlier, A. Ippel and G. Roeder, Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim (Hildesheim: 1921) 96 fig. 33, Roeder, "Ramses II als Gott", ZAeS 61 (1926) 65-66 and fig. 2; idem., "Der Schmuckwert der ägyptischen Hieroglyphen", Buch und Schrift 3 (1928) 2 fig. 4; Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir..." 535; idem., Features of the Deification of Ramesses II (Glückstadt: 1969) 30 fig. 17; Kayser, "Söhne des Sonnengottes", Zeitschrift des Museums zu Hildesheim N.F. 23 (1971) 43-44; Gaballa, loc. cit. n. 239; KRI III, 263-264. (Fig. 23).

Both registers of this round-topped stela are somewhat marred by horizontal breaks which run obliquely upward from the left edge to the right edge, with a large chip of the surface gouged out at the right end of each. This has caused some loss to the scenes above and below. The upper of the two registers contains a double scene. In the center, facing to the left, "the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems,



Ramesses-mi'amūn stands and offers a small figure of Ma'at to "Ptah, the Lord of Ma'at, the king of the Two Lands, he who hears petitions".<sup>258</sup> The king wears the Blue Crown with uraeus and pendant streamer, a broad collar, and a sleeved, calf-length, diaphonous overgarment beneath which his knee-length kilt is clearly visible. The mummiform god stands on a pedestal inside of an open naos, the front and doors of which are not indicated.<sup>259</sup> The other scene of the register is to the right of this. In the center, facing to the right "Wosimare'-setepenre' Ramesses-mi'amūn" stands at a window of appearances and throws down a pair of gold šby.w-collars to a man who stands below, adoring him. Since Ramesses' entire body, clad as before, is shown, it is clear that he is being viewed from inside the window, looking out. The window's enclosed balcony, which occupies about two-fifths of its height and which is capped by a cavetto cornice and torus molding, is covered with a thick cushion upon which the king rests his left arm, while he raises his right hand to throw out a collar. The upper part of the window is framed by a pair of jambs which support a corniced lintel capped by a frieze of sundisk-crowned uraei. Just to the right of the right jamb, i.e., just outside it, are four vertical lines of incised hieroglyphs, the first of which faces towards the other three is interrupted by the second of the gold collars which the king presents. These read:

"The king, himself, is giving silver and every good thing of the palace to the 'overseer of the scribe(s)' [who ---] for the army,<sup>260</sup> the one who gives satisfaction on account of that which comes forth from his mouth, Mose [----]".<sup>261</sup>

Mose stands at the far right of the register. His figure has been badly damaged by the large gouge in the right edge of the

stela, which was caused by the vertical fracture at the bottom of the register. Only his arms, upraised in the gesture of adoration, his lower legs, and the hem of his kilt are still preserved. Between him and the window are various offerings or, more likely in view of the text, gifts. These seem to include three ingots of metal<sup>262</sup> contained in two nb-baskets, and a haunch of meat. They are placed upon and below a table.<sup>263</sup>

The lower of the two registers has but a single scene. At the left and filling its entire height is "Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Sun-of-Rulers", a colossal statue of the king.<sup>264</sup> It depicts the king seated upon a square, high-backed throne and wearing the Double Crown on top of a nemes-headcloth.<sup>265</sup> In the field in front of it, his feet on a level with its waist, the king stands, clad as in the upper register. He holds a hk3-scepter in his left hand and, with his extended right hand, offers a gold šby.w-collar. At the right, on a level with the base of the statue and facing it and the king is a large group of men, some bending down, the others looking upward and stretching their hands towards the king in an attempt to catch the various gold collars and other objects<sup>266</sup> which he has showered down upon them. In front of this company and slightly apart from them is their leader, surely the Mose of the upper register. He thrusts himself forward, the hands of his outspread arms cupped to receive the rewards cascading down about him. Since all of the men, including Mose, wear the so-called "military kilt" with the large, inverted triangular apron,<sup>267</sup> and with several also wearing the so-called "military wig",<sup>268</sup> it is obvious that they are soldiers. This is confirmed by the text which is in the field over their heads. It consists of twelve vertical columns of incised hieroglyphs which con-

tain two separate speeches. The four lines at the left which face in the same direction as does the king record his speech to the assembled soldiers. The remaining eight lines contain their reply. The speech of the king is as follows:

"Words spoken by his majesty to the army: 'Now see the things which the soldier<sup>269</sup> Mose, whom his majesty loves, has done in the presence of Pharaoh! How good are the things<sup>270</sup> which he has done so very greatly'."

To this, the assembled soldiers reply:

"Words spoken by the entire army at the honouring of their leader:<sup>271</sup> 'You are Re! You are like Him when you appear.<sup>272</sup> We live because you look at that which was done by(??)<sup>273</sup> the soldier Mose of the great company of Ramesses-mi'amūn "[Beloved of] Atum",<sup>274</sup> [in the presence of]<sup>275</sup> [his statue] Ra[messes-mi'amun]-the-Sun-[of-Rulers" belonging to]<sup>276</sup> Ra[messes-]mi'amūn'".

22. Stela Cairo CG 34.177, from the tomb of Any (nr.23) at Amarna. Limestone, with colours well-preserved. 27 x 23 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: N. De Garis Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna V (London: 1908) 10 and pl. 22. Earlier, G. Daressy, "Tombeaux et stèles-limites de Hagi-Qandil", Rec. trav. 15 (1895) 45; G. Steindorff, "Vier Grabstel-en aus der Zeit Amenophis' IV", ZAeS 34 (1896) 65-67 and fig. 3; U. Bouriant, G. Legrain, and G. Jequier, Monuments pour servir à l'étude du culte d'Atonou en Égypte (Cairo: 1903) pl. 25. See also M. Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaton (Brussels: 1938) 68 where, however, it should be noted that her identification of this and the other stelae from the tomb of Any as British Museum

objects is incorrect. The numbers are Cairo Museum Journal d'entrée numbers. Those cited by Steindorff, op. cit. are the old Giza Museum numbers. (Fig. 24).

The scene, set within a blue border which parallels the outline of this small round-topped stela pictures its owner and a charioteer standing a moving chariot.<sup>277</sup> The passenger, wearing a robe with short, pleated sleeves, and a wavy shoulder-length wig, steadies himself by leaning both hands on the upper edge of the vehicle's box.<sup>278</sup> A cone of perfumed incense sits on top of his head and, in addition to an earring and a bracelet on his right wrist, he wears four gold šby.w-collars around his neck. The shaven-headed driver is bare to the waist and holds the reins with both of his outthrust hands. He seems to be leaning himself forward in an attempt to urge the team of horses from a walk to a faster gait. The chariot, the typical light car of the 18th Dynasty, with six-spoked wheels, has a closed, painted-leather bowcase affixed to its sidepanel.<sup>279</sup> Outside of the usual head and shoulder harness, the chariot-horses show no other equipment. The background of the stela is painted yellow, the heads and arms of the two men and the body of the charioteer are red, as is the leather of the sidepanel and the leather insets of the bowcase. The two horses are likewise painted red. The passenger's hair and eye are black. In the field above there are six vertical lines of blue-painted hieroglyphs and beneath the fourth of these are three additional short, horizontal lines. These last serve as the caption for the charioteer. The main text reads:

"The real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands,<sup>280</sup> the steward, Any, who will be justified. (He says): 'I return

in peace with the rewards of the king.<sup>281</sup> He has commanded a goodly burial for me and he has granted that I shall reach the state of reverence in peace'".

The short text over the head of the driver identifies him as "the charioteer of the royal scribe Any, Tjay".<sup>282</sup>

23. Stela in Giza, number not known. From the Sphinx amphitheater at Giza. Limestone, with no traces of colour. Dimensions not known, scene and text in sunken relief. Bibliography: S. Hassan, The Great Sphinx and Its Secrets (Cairo: 1953) 61 and fig. 52; Ch. M. Zivie, Giza au deuxieme millenaire 254 nr. 6; Schulman, "A Memphite Stela, The Bark of Ptah..." 101 nr. 48. (Fig. 25).

Only a fragment of the scene of this small votive stela<sup>283</sup> is preserved. In the center, resting on a ground line and facing to the left are the hind legs and tails of a standing team of horses. These are yoked to a chariot seen immediately to their right. Of the chariot itself, all that is preserved are its pole, visible between the rumps and tails of the horses, a four-spoked wheel whose spokes cross in such a way as to suggest that the intent of the artist had been to carve six but, for some reason, did not, the frontpanel of the car and the lower part of a bowcase affixed to the sidepanel. A man stands in the chariot. Only the lower part of his pleated kilt is preserved. At the left a pair of attendants face the vehicle. The nearer of these, standing behind the horse-team, wears a calf-length pleated kilt and bows down. His arms, superficially looking like the anthropomorphic rays of the Aton, are pressed against the apron of his kilt. The second attendant, standing just to the left of the horses' forelegs and dressed like his fellow, is more erect. Probably his hands were raised in adoration.<sup>284</sup> At the right of the scene,

time on a larger scale than the other two, a third man stands facing the rear of the chariot. His body is preserved from the buttocks down. He wears a calf-length kilt and sandals.<sup>285</sup> His sash has been gathered up at his no-longer visible belt, its bunched-up, peplumlike effect making it look as if it were a second apron worn higher over the regular apron of his kilt.<sup>286</sup> The butt and lower part of the shaft of a fan which he holds is inclined in such a direction so as to insure that he is holding it to shade the occupant of the chariot. The remains of a vertical column of hieroglyphs, facing left, stand between the fan-bearer and the man in the chariot, but there is no way of determining to which of them it belongs. What can be read of the mutilated text is: "the overseer of [----] of the lord of the Two Lands, [----], Pashed".<sup>287</sup>

24. Stela Cairo CG 34.176, from the tomb of Any (nr. 23) at Amarna. Limestone, some colour preserved. 42 x 28 cm. scene and text in sunken relief. Bibliography: Davies, *op. cit.* 10 pl. 21; Daressy, *op. cit.* 44; Steindorff, *op. cit.* 65 and fig. 2; Bouriant-Legrain-Jequier, *op. cit.* 50 and pl. 25; Sandman, *op. cit.* 67. (Fig. 26).

Both registers are inclosed by a border which parallels the outline of the stela's round-top. Above, at the right and facing left, "the real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, Any, who will be justified" stands erect in a very formal, almost statuelike attitude, his right arm bent at the elbow, the hand holding a staff, the left arm hanging straight down at his side, its hand clutching a handkerchief.<sup>288</sup> Any wears a quarter-sleeved upper garment over his long, calf-length kilt. Its lower part has been

gathered through his belt so that it gives a peplumlike appearance at his knees.<sup>289</sup> His wig curves naturally over his shoulders and on his feet are sandals. "The scribe, Nebwawi",<sup>290</sup> shaven-headed, bare-chested, barefoot and wearing a short knee-length kilt, stands facing Any. His right hand is extended in a gesture of address. His left hand grasps a roll of papyrus. "He says: 'Look at the ox, the one of which it was said to bring it'". In the lower register, which is separated from the upper by a double ground line, Nebwawi, dressed as before, leads a short-horned ox by a halter, presumably into the presence of Any in the upper register. The bovine's throat is festively bedecked with a broad collar. This, in turn, is adorned with a lotus flower and two buds.<sup>291</sup> In the field over this scene are eight vertical lines of text which read:

"The scribe Nebwawi, he says: 'We have seen the beautiful things which the goodly ruler has done for his scribe of the offering table. He has ordained a happy burial for him in Akhetaton'".

Traces of dark red colour are still visible on the flesh of the men and the hide of the ox. The horns of the animal originally had been gilded.

25. Stela Cairo CG 32.178, from the tomb of Any (nr. 23) at Amarna. Limestone, some colour preserved. 27 x 23 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Davies, op. cit. 10 and pl. 22; Daressy, op. cit. 44; Steindorff, op. cit. 67 and fig. 4; Sandman, op. cit. 67-68; De Meulenaere, Le règne du soleil: Akhenaton et Néfertiti (Brussels: 1975) 83 nr. 22. (Fig. 27).

The scene of this small stela is set within a frame which

parallels the outline of its round-topped shape except on its left side. Here it is replaced by the right side of a doorway, i.e. the right jamb, the right corner of the lintel with its cornice. Davies, possibly rightly, identified this as "the latticed door of the shrine in his (i.e. Any's) tomb".<sup>292</sup> To the right of this doorway and facing left, Any sits on a folding stool, the legs of which terminate in ducks' heads and the seat of which is covered with an animal skin.<sup>293</sup> He wears a diaphanous ankle-length pleated robe with pleated half-sleeves, bracelets on his wrists, armlets on his biceps, and four gold šby.w-collars around his neck. His sandal-clad feet rest upon a platform which also supports the base of the doorjamb behind him, the legs of the stool, and the visible leg of a rectangular, openwork-sided table laden with various kinds of food and floral bouquets. The left side and leg of the table are concealed by his feet and the lower part of his robe. His left hand is raised in a gesture of what looks to be salutation. On the other side of the table and facing him is a retainer who offers a large jar with a prominent collar. The flesh of the two men is painted red, as is the jar and the legs of the stool. Any's adornments were overlaid with gold leaf. In the field above the scene are eight vertical lines of text which comprise two adscriptions to it. The five lines at the left belong to Any and, when taken in conjunction with the action performed by the attendant (which we may read as a rebus for the Egyptian words meaning "to make a libation", to pour out")<sup>294</sup> then read:

"Making a libation for the ka of the real scribe of the the king, his beloved,<sup>295</sup> the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Any,



who will be justified".

The two lines of text at the extreme right identify the man who is making the liquid offering and record that the stela was "made by the servant of the scribe of the king, Any, Anymen".<sup>296</sup> The line preceding this contains his speech to Any: "Let wine be poured out for you".

26. Stela Cairo CG 34.180, from the tomb of Any (nr. 23) at Amarna. Limestone, some colour preserved. 41 x 27 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Davies, *op. cit.* 9-10 and pl. 22; Daressy, *op. cit.* 45; Steindorff, *op. cit.* 63-65 and fig. 1; Bouriant-Legrain-Jequier, *op. cit.* pl. 26; Sandman, *op. cit.* 67. (Fig. 28).

Unlike the others from the tomb of Any previously discussed, the scene of this round-topped stela is not set off by a border. At the left and facing right, Any sits on a high-backed, lion-footed chair with openwork sides. He wears the usual diaphanous robe, the pleats and apron of which the artist has attempted, albeit unsuccessfully, to portray in a realistic manner with the apron laying flat on his lap and the pleats gathered and bunched up. A cone of perfumed incense surmounts his wig. Several thick gold *šby.w*-collars encircle his neck, bracelets are on his wrists, and sandals on his feet. His right hand is held formally to his side, its fist clutching a napkin or handkerchief. His left hand is extended, palm down, perhaps to touch or take one of the offerings which are heaped in front of him in a large nb-basket. This sits on a low square, openwork-sided stand, the left leg of which is concealed by Any's feet. Its right leg, Any's feet, and the feet of his chair all rest on a narrow pedestal or mat. The contents of the basket are various types of food

together with a floral bouquet of which only the stems are visible. To the right of these a man stands facing Any and offers a bouquet of flowers to him. He wears a shoulder-length wig and a calf-length pleated and sleeved garment with a pendant apron. The thighs of the robe have been gathered over his sash and hang, peplumlike, over the apron. Traces of red paint are still visible on the feet, arms, and faces of the two men. In the field over their heads eight vertical lines of hieroglyphs comprise two separate texts. The four lines at the left belong to Any and read:

"the real scribe of the king, his beloved, the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, the steward, Any, who will be justified<sup>297</sup> with a goodly burial".



The remaining four lines are the speech of the offerant and read:

"Your nourishment<sup>298</sup> is a bouquet of the Aton! May he give breath to me(sic!). May he unite your body. May you see Re' whenever he appears, and adore. He shall listen to what you say".

Beneath the scene a horizontal line of hieroglyphs records the fact that the stela was "made by the overseer of works, Pakha,<sup>299</sup> who will be justified".

Stela Copenhagen AeIN 897, provenance unknown.<sup>300</sup> Brown sandstone, no traces of colour. 45 x 37 cm. scene in sunken relief, text incised. Bibliography: Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes 31-32 and pl. 37. Earlier, M. Mogensen, "A Stele of the XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty with a Hymn to Ptah and Sekhmet", PSBA 35 (1913) 37-40 and pl. 2; A.F.R. Platt, "Notes on the Stela of Sekhmetmer", *ibid.* 129-130 and pl. 31; Koefoed-Petersen, Re-

ceuil des inscriptions hiéroglyphiques de la Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg (Brussels: 1936) 57. (Fig. 29).

Since the upper part of the stela is lost, there is no way of knowing what its original shape was. It seems to have had two registers. In the upper of these, in the center and facing right, the god Ptah sits on a high-backed throne which stands on a pedestal. The goddess Sakhmet stands behind the throne. In front of Ptah, on a base line incised above his foot, the remains of a rectangular openwork-sided stand are still visible. Of the god, only the curve of his buttocks, his mummy-wrapped legs, and his feet, can still be seen. All that is left of the goddess is her body from the abdomen down, her left forearm and hand holding a staff, and the 'nh which her right hand grasped. The side of the throne is framed by a reed-mat border, as is the smaller square inset at its lower left, the face of the latter being decorated with the unification symbol. The sidepanel of the pedestal is covered with a frieze of alternating  and  hieroglyphs. The goddess wears a tight calf-length sheath. A bracelet encircles her left wrist and a similar piece of jewellery is on each leg, just above the ankle.

The lower register is separated from the upper by a doubled register line. At the right, facing left, a man kneels with both hands raised in the gesture of adoration to the deities above. A cone of perfumed incense sits atop his long elaborately-plaited wig, the latter also encircled by a filet. A number of Over the sleeved diaphonous upper-garment he wears a number of gold sby.w-collars adorn his neck. His robe is drawn through his belt at the waist, so that its lower part hangs out in front as if it were a triangular apron, but the actual apron can be seen

very clearly underneath it.<sup>301</sup> He wears an armlet on each forearm, just below the crook of the elbow. In front of him, filling the major part of the register and continuing behind his back, is a hieroglyphic text of fourteen vertical lines which read:

"The servant here praises your beauty, O great Ptah, he who is south of his wall, Tatenen who resides in the walls, august god of the Primeval Time, he who fashioned man and gave birth to the gods,<sup>302</sup> primeval one, making the life of mankind<sup>303</sup> so that one says in his heart: 'See, they have come into existence!'<sup>304</sup> he who foretells that which not yet is and who has renewed that which **is**,— nothing at all exists without his not knowing it;<sup>305</sup> he creates the needs of every day in accordance to what he determines<sup>306</sup> —, you<sup>307</sup> have placed the earth at its statutes like you made it, and Egypt remains under your command as (it did) at the first time!

And hail to Beautiful-of-Face, the favorite of the house of Ptah, Great Sakhmet, the lady of heaven, she who is on the brow of Re<sup>r</sup>, who makes the northward journey of his Eye in the great house of Hierakonpolis (pr-wr)<sup>308</sup> and (**that of**) his double uraei in the house of flame at Buto (pr-nsr),<sup>309</sup> who is upon his brow in the evening bark, who is with him in the dawn bark when she blocks the approaching attack of the Apophis serpent.<sup>310</sup> Raging<sup>311</sup> against the ones who are with him (i.e. Apophis), she has grasped the spear,<sup>312</sup> O Sakhmet, Great One, the beloved of Ptah, the lady of heaven and mistress of the Two Lands!

May the two of you grant a happy lifetime without sick-

ness to my limbs.<sup>313</sup> May my face be free from injuries.<sup>314</sup> May my ears be opened. Life will not be forced open(??)<sup>315</sup> and its totality<sup>316</sup> shall not exist. I shall be transfigured among the glorious spirits, one who is praised in ma'at, the [----], the stonemason of of the king,<sup>317</sup> Merysakhmet".<sup>318</sup>

28. Stela Louvre E 14275 (ex-Museum Guimet 22), provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 43 x 27 cm. scenes and text incised. Bibliography: A. Moret, Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Galerie égyptienne, stèles, bas-reliefs, monuments divers I (Paris: 1909) 47-49 and pl. 20. Earlier, A. Wiedemann, "On Some Egyptian Inscriptions in the Musée Guimet at Paris", PSBA 14 (1892) 332-335; also mentioned by Gauthier, "Les 'Fils Royaux de Kouch'..." 200. (Fig. 30).

In the upper of this round-topped stela's two registers, at the left and facing right, a man sits on a high-backed, lion-footed chair with openwork sides. He wears a diaphanous sleeved upper garment over his ankle-length kilt, the triangular apron of which sits squarely on his lap.<sup>319</sup> On top of his elaborately-plaited shoulder-length wig is a large cone of perfumed incense. The valanced wig is bound with a fillet around the brow. The man's neck and chest are festooned with massive gold sby.w-collars. His right hand rests on his lap. The left is raised to his chest, the fist clutching the stem of a lotus, the flower of which is pressed to his nose. His bare feet rest upon a reed mat, as does the base of a ~~tall~~ narrow table which, however, is partly concealed by the feet. This is heaped up with a variety of food offerings. Facing the table at the right is a second man who pours a libation from a ~~hs~~-jar to the seated figure. Bare-chest-

ed, he wears a less elaborate wig, a broad collar around his neck, and a pleated calf-length kilt with the narrow inverted apron usually associated with the so-called "military kilt".<sup>320</sup> Behind the chair at the left is a tall floral bouquet, from the top of which a lotus flower and two buds emanate. The feet of the libationer, the reed mat, the feet of the chair, and the base of the bouquet all rest upon a second mat which also serves to separate the two registers. In the field over the offering table, a little off-center, is the archaic form of the cartouche flanked by a pair of wedjat-eyes, with two zigzags of water and a basin beneath the cartouche. Above this group, centered at the arc of the stela's top, a single horizontal line of crudely-incised hieroglyphs identifies the seated figure as "(the tutor of) the king's daughter,<sup>321</sup> Paserpanetjer".<sup>322</sup> Below, to the right of the group and over the libationer's head two short vertical lines record that the stela was "made by the soldier, Parennefer".<sup>323</sup> This text is continued by a third vertical line which, curiously, is to the right, between the offerings and their recipient. This reads: "for his lord, Paserpanetjer".<sup>324</sup> Behind the chair a single vertical line of text, which is continued behind the bouquet, again identifies the seat man, but this time with a slightly different title, as "the overseer of the tutor(s),<sup>325</sup> Paserpanetjer".

In the center of the lower register is a tall narrow cylindrical offering table, to the right and left of which sits a couple, each on a high-backed and lion-footed couch. The two men and the woman at the right all wear similar short valanced wigs. The woman at the left wears the more usual longer woman's wig which is held in place by a fillet. The two men, each bare-chested, wear long diaphanous pleated kilts, as does seemingly

the woman of the right hand couple. The other female is clad in a tight-fitting sheath. The attitude of the two men is identical with that of Paserpanetjer, but that of their companions differs. The lady on the left holds the right biceps of the man seated next to her with her right arm, while her left embraces his back. This is also the position of the right arm of the other woman, whose hand can be seen grasping her partner's right shoulder. Her left arm is pressed to her side, the hand on her lap.<sup>326</sup> On the table is a large squat jar, flanked by two hs-jars, and some kind of vegetable. In the field above this, between the two couples and behind the lady on the left, are six vertical lines of rudely incised hieroglyphs which identify the two pairs. The couple on the right are, respectively, "Tuty"<sup>327</sup> and "Meyta".<sup>328</sup> The pair on the left are "Parennefer" and "his lady, the mistress of the house, Yeyu,"<sup>329</sup> whom the soldier, Parennefer, of [the ship or unit named]<sup>330</sup> [----] sired".

29. Stela Yale University Art Gallery 28.53, from Serabit el-Khadim. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 70 x 51 cm. scene and text incised. Bibliography: A.H.Gardiner, T.E. Peet, and J. Černý, The Inscriptions of Sinai 2nd ed. (London: 1955) 194 nr. 302 and pl. 75; J. Pijoan, Summa Artis. Historia General del Arte. 3. El arte egipcio hasta la conquista romana. 2nd ed. (Madrid: 1945) fig. 286. (Fig. 31).

A man stands at the left side of this round-topped stela, both of his hands raised in a gesture of salutation. Shaven of pate, he wears an elaborate sleeved upper garment over his long kilt. This has an equally long triangular apron which is looped through his belt, the ends of which dangle down asymmetrically on each side of the apron. On his feet he wears a pair of sand-

als and around his neck are two thick gold šby.w-collars. In front of him, facing in the same direction as he does, and continuing in the field over and behind his head, are six vertical lines of well-cut hieroglyphs, the first three of which run the full height of the stela. The text reads as follows:

"Year 3, third month of Shomu: His majesty commanded his praised one, his beloved, the intimate<sup>331</sup> of his lord, the overseer of the treasury of gold and silver,<sup>332</sup> the privy counselor of the august palace,<sup>333</sup> Sebekhotpe,<sup>334</sup> who will be justified, to bring for him all which his heart desired, (namely) turquoise, from his fourth expedition. He said before his lord: 'The Spirits of Pe and Nekhen rejoice for you and that which the sundisk encircles worships you,<sup>335</sup> who created (even) the tribesmen,<sup>336</sup> [-----],<sup>337</sup> who guides the name<sup>338</sup> (of?) the royal butler,<sup>339</sup> Sebekhotpe, who will be justified".

30. Stela Vatican City 253, provenance unknown. Limestone, with no traces of colour. 62 x 64 cm. text and scene in sunken relief. Bibliography: G. Botti and P. Romanelli, Le Sculture del Museo Gregoriano Egizio (Vatican City: 1951) 77-78 and pl. 49 nr. 125. (Fig. 32).

Only a small, almost rectangular fragment from the left side of the stela is preserved. It is impossible to determine what the monument's original shape may have been, how many registers it might have had, or the exact placement of the fragment on the left side. At the extreme left the scene is bordered by a nicely modelled vertical reed mat. To the right of this, facing right, a male sits on a high-backed chair in front of a now-lost table which had been heaped up with a large variety of meats,



breads, fruits, and floral bouquets. Part of the seat, the back, and the curved cushion of the chair are preserved, the curlique top of the latter breaking the outline of the reed mat border behind it. The man seated on the chair wears a quarter-sleeved pleated and diaphonous upper garment over his long kilt, the pleats of which fall naturally on his lap and thighs. Although his finely modelled facial features are those of a youthful person, horizontal lines indicating the obesity of age<sup>340</sup> are visible beneath his breasts. His elaborately-plaited wig is surmounted by an extra-large cone of perfumed incense. Each of his wrists is encircled by a bracelet and around his neck he wears two kinds of collar. Underneath is a multiple-stranded broad collar of ovid and tubular beads. Over this he wears a four-stranded gold šby.w-collar, the ties of which are visible just above his right shoulder. His right arm is held formally to his right side. In its clenched fist he holds a handkerchief whose end loops out over the fist, almost parallel to his lap, while its body flows loosely and freely down from the bottom of the fist. His left hand is extended forward in a gesture of salutation, although through an optical illussion it almost looks to be plucking a piece of fruit from the offerings on the table before him. In the field in front of his head, above his left arm and the offerings are the remains of a text of seven vertical lines of moderately-incised hiercglyphs. Beneath these is an eighth horizontal line. While none of the vertical lines are complete, it is clear that they contained a text of a religious content. What I can read is as follows:

"[-----] witness(?) the heart. Its (evil) occasion does not exist. [-----] with all the ones who live in it. The

god [-----] on truth. His abomination is falsehood.  
 [-----] without allowing to sleep another [-----] my  
 'voice',<sup>341</sup> when it cries out [-----] greatly, greatly.  
 My voice is not raised approaching and I am not brought  
 back".

The horizontal line beneath these vertical columns reads:

"[-----], thousands of beer, thousands of beef, thousands of fowl, thousands of milk, thousands of wine, thousands of ungent, thousands of alabaster and linen, thousands of every thing".

### C

Unlike the scene of the king ceremonially slaughtering a captured enemy which, other than on the private and public stelae discussed in the preceding chapter,<sup>342</sup> is found in monumental art only in the temple, that depicting the reward of a favoured and the various stages of its aftermath, although it is on occasion found on temple walls,<sup>343</sup> is, nevertheless, primarily a genre belonging to the repertoire of tomb art.<sup>344</sup> The reasons for this seem fairly straightforward when we take into consideration the nature and context of each of the ceremonies being illustrated. In the case of the former, a public event is being recorded, one in which the pharaoh himself is the principal actor, performing a rite of triumphal thanksgiving to the god(s) on his own behalf and on that of Egypt for, one may assume, continued triumph, well-being, and victory. In the case of the ceremony picturing the rewarding of an official with **gold, in spite of the** fact that the king is shown playing a leading role in it at one particular instant in time, what is being commemorated is, essentially, a private matter. The emphasis is not so much on the

king as it is on the exceptional honour which is being conferred on the recipient, being rewarded by the king's own hand. The tangible evidence of this royal largess is immediately apparent in the form of the gold šby.w-collars worn by the various officials being honoured. The king is present only in those scenes which picture him in the very act of conferring the collars.<sup>345</sup>

An unique temple scene picturing a ceremony akin to the one in which rewards are given, but one possibly of a more public nature, has been reconstructed from a number of Amarna talatat which had been used as fill in various of the pylons of the great temple of Amūn at Karnak.<sup>346</sup> There, the king is pictured at the window of appearances while below, in the courtyard outside, a number of courtiers and officials enjoy a banquet at the king's expense. Redford has convincingly shown that this was "probably one of the many ceremonies of the sd-festival, when the king distributed his bounty to his officers in a concrete fashion".<sup>347</sup> He cites a number of texts, the earliest going back at least to the reign of Amūnhotpe III, which describe such a ceremony,<sup>348</sup> the most detailed and graphic description being that preserved in the Decree of Horemheb:<sup>349</sup>

"I made the regulations for the provisioning<sup>350</sup> of my [majesty] with respect to every holiday(?):<sup>351</sup> They came around to<sup>352</sup> my majesty three times a month. It came to be for them like a festival, every man sitting down at [his] portion of every good thing, consisting of good bread, meat, cakes from the royal possessions,<sup>353</sup> [their heads] annoin[ted with] oil. Their acclamation reached heaven, extolling the goodness of the lord [of the Two Lands].<sup>354</sup> The leaders

of the infantry, every great one of the army, every man among [-----] without number during the casting down to them from the window and the hailing of every man by his name by the king himself. They went away from the Presence rejoicing and provisioned with the goods of the palace".

In his discussion of the Karnak talatat with this banquet scene beneath the window of appearances, Redford correctly points out that the king is not pictured casting down collars and other such items to the assembled throng below because, while the feast was indeed a public ceremony, the awarding of gold collars was essentially a private matter.<sup>355</sup>

The respective public and private natures of the sacrificial and reward ceremonies are likewise manifested on the private stelae on which they are found. In this respect it is interesting to note that all of those which illustrate the ritual sacrifice and whose provenance is firmly assured by controlled excavation<sup>356</sup> come from the temple. Conversely, virtually all of those relating to the ceremony of reward and whose provenance is equally fixed by excavation come from the tomb.<sup>357</sup> On the stelae with the sacrificial scene, the dedicator plays no role whatsoever save that of a passive observer and witness. This is true even for the single exemplar which has a real narrative text, the Qantir stela of Wosimare<sup>1</sup>nakht (nr. 8) which records what was awarded to him, not what he did. The principal focus in the scenes of such stelae is the ceremony itself and the chief actors, the only participants in fact, are the king, the victim(s), and the god. Indeed, the presence of the dedicator is not even always indicated either pictorially or textually.<sup>358</sup> To the contrary,

on the stelae with the scene of the rewarding and the various stages of its aftermath, the principal personage, the official who is being or has been rewarded, and who is not always their dedicator,<sup>359</sup> is almost always shown wearing the gold šby.w-collars.<sup>360</sup> Nor is this obvious pride in being the recipient of such a reward from the king's own hand confined only to representations of it on the walls of his tomb and/or on his commemorative stelae. There are several instances where the men who were so honoured have left statues of themselves on which they display the collars around their necks.<sup>361</sup>

#### D

With the exception of stela nr. 29, of the Ramesside royal butler, Sebekhotpe, which was erected near the Hathor temple at Serabit el-Khadim in Sinai, only the stelae which were dedicated to or by the scribe of the offering table of the lord of the Two Lands, Any (stelae nrs. 22, 24-26) were actually found in situ, in his tomb at Amarna along with two others, Cairo CG 34.179 and CG 34.181, which were dedicated to him "by his brother, [Ptah]may"<sup>362</sup> and "by the servitor, Yay"<sup>363</sup> respectively, though on these last two, as on nr. 24, Any is not depicted wearing the šby.w-collars. Four of these six stelae were found set up in niches, three on one side, one on the other, in the walls of the vestibule of Any's tomb.<sup>364</sup> However, none of the published accounts specify which four of the six stelae these were, although one gets the impression from Bouriant's description of the tomb that the four stelae were nrs. 22 and 24-26.<sup>365</sup> Beyond the vestibule a short passage leads into the main chamber of the tomb, the walls of which do not appear to have been decorated save for a cornice running along the sides beneath the ceiling.<sup>366</sup> At the far end of the corridor is

is the shrine, the major part of which is occupied by the seated tomb-statue of Any, and the right and left walls of which each are decorated with a scene showing Any seated behind an offering table<sup>367</sup> and being offered a libation (in the scene on the right wall)<sup>368</sup> and a floral bouquet (in the scene on the left wall)<sup>369</sup> by a servant. Both scenes, together with the texts which accompany them, were found in a badly-damaged state of preservation, but enough remains of each to allow most of its original appearance to be restored. In the right hand scene, Any, wearing the cone of perfumed incense on top of his wig, a sleeved upper garment, and sandals on his feet, sits in a formal attitude, one hand which holds a *hwp*-scepter pressed against his chest, the other resting on his lap. A woman, probably his wife,<sup>370</sup> stands behind him while before him, a man pours out the libation from a high-necked amphora. The text above identifies him as "the servitor and agent<sup>371</sup> of the royal scribe, the justified Any, Meryre'". Any also appears in this pose on stela Cairo CG 34.179, but there the dedicator, "his brother, (Ptah)may" is depicted hailing him with one hand and saying:

"There is made for you a *hwp-di-nswt* invocation of bread and beer, meat and fowl, and libations of wine.' So says (in) his brother, (Ptah)may".<sup>372</sup>

On stela nr. 25, dedicated by "the servitor of the royal scribe, Any, Anymen", the latter is also depicted pouring out a libation from a similar amphora to the seated Any, while saying: "Let wine be poured out for you". More than half of the twelve lines of the text representing the speech of the servitor Meryre' as he pours out the libation are lost. What is preserved reads:

"[-----] all [-----] you go forth. [-----]. You shall be

as one among [-----]. The king has ordained<sup>373</sup> for you a happy burial (in) the cliffside<sup>374</sup> of Akhetaton, (in the Place)<sup>375</sup> of Eternity. Its interior shall be for you the place of your ka.<sup>376</sup> (remainder of the text is corrupt)".<sup>377</sup>

Finally, in connection with this scene it may be noted that on stelae Cairo CG 34.179 and 34.108 (nr. 26) Any is called "one who shall be justified<sup>378</sup> with a goodly burial" and, on stela Cairo CG 34.177 (nr. 22) Any himself says: "I return in peace with the rewards of the king. He has commanded for me a goodly burial" and on stela Cairo CG 34.176 (nr. 24) the scribe Nebwawi describes "the beautiful things which the goodly ruler has done for his scribe of the offering table: he has ordained for him a happy burial in Akhetaton".

In the scene on the left wall of the shrine Any is dressed as before, but with the addition of four gold *šby.w*-collars around his neck.<sup>379</sup> He sits behind an offering table, one hand resting on his lap, its fist clutching a napkin or handkerchief, the other hand, palm down, extended as if partaking of the offerings. Facing him is the same Meryre' who this time raises one hand in salutation,<sup>380</sup> while he pours out a libation from a *hs-jar* with the other.<sup>381</sup> The accompanying text, which contains his speech to Any, though damaged, is better preserved than that in the scene on the right wall. On the basis of several parallel texts from the tomb of Huya (nr. 1) at Amarna, much of the missing or corrupt part of it can be restored. It reads as follows:

"Accept the offerings [of the king's own giving to]<sup>383</sup>  
the steward of ['Aakheprure'].<sup>385</sup> [-----]<sup>386</sup> every<sup>387</sup>  
shrine of yours. Your name will flourish [-----]<sup>388</sup>

which you desire.<sup>389</sup> Every generation which shall come(?) shall call out to [you].<sup>390</sup> Your name shall not be sought [in your mansion].<sup>391</sup> You shall be a son for whom is made<sup>392</sup> the htp-dī-nswt invocation consisting of your bread and your beer of your house, the wine of the house<sup>393</sup> which has come forth from the Presence, and [-----]".<sup>394</sup>

Any appears in the same attitude and attire on two of the stelae from his tomb, Cairo CG 34.181 and CG 34.180 (nr. 26). On the second of these he also wears the gold šby.w-collars. While the texts of neither of these two stelae can be directly related in content to the text of the scene on the left wall of the shrine, one might compare that of stela Cairo CG 34.179 where Any's brother, (Ptah)may says: "There shall be made for you a htp-dī-nswt invocation of bread and beer, meat and fowl, and libations of wine". Moreover, as we have just seen, the texts of stelae nrs. 22 and 24 make it clear that these benefices which Any shall enjoy come to him by the king's command and, we may even assume, from the king's own hand.

Although we do not know exactly which of the six stelae dedicated to Any were set up in the wall niches of the vestibule of his tomb, it is certain that at least two of them had to have been from among the group of stelae nrs. 22 and 24-26. If the impression given by Bouriant that it was all four stelae from this group is correct,<sup>395</sup> then it is striking that in that portion of the tomb which normally contains scenes depicting those aspects of the lifetime of the deceased which he deemed important enough to be repeated for eternity in the Afterworld,<sup>396</sup> four stelae, each illustrating a single different stage following the actual ceremony of being rewarded with gold by the king were found



in precisely this part of the tomb. Moreover, there is no reason to assume that the other two stelae likewise were not intended to be erected in similar niches, but since the tomb was apparently never finished, these were never carved.<sup>397</sup> Even were this not the case, the placement of the four remaining stelae in the niches of the vestibule with scenes of the various stages of the aftermath of what must have been the most important single event in Any's career, his being personally rewarded by the king, is paralleled in a number of other tombs at Amarna where these same scenes decorate the corresponding walls in them.<sup>398</sup> This almost suggests that, in the case of Any whose tomb was a relatively modest one, the stelae in question served here as a simplified and certainly less expensive substitute form of tomb decoration. Furthermore, if this suggestion is acceptable, we may then very easily hypothesize that those other stelae relating to the rewarding ceremony also originally may have stood in niches in the corresponding parts of their tombs, but it must be emphatically stressed that this can only be speculation.<sup>399</sup> It might also be argued that, were this the case, we should have expected to find in the tomb of Any a stela whose scene showed the actual award being made, as it is depicted on the stelae of Hormin (nr. 20) and Mose (nr. 21), but we do not. However, such an argument loses most of its force when we remember that the most important element of the ceremony was the reward itself, even more than the king's giving of it.

Footnotes:

214. For the most recent study of this scene and its significance in tomb art, see G.A. Gaballa, Narrative in Egyptian Art 62-64 (the earlier 18th Dynasty), 72-78 (the Amarna period), 129-130 (the Ramesside period) and compare J. Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne. IV. Bas-relief et peintures. Scènes de la vie quotidienne (Paris: 1964) 638-668, and A. Hermann, "Jubel der Audienz. Zur Gebärdensprache in der Kunst des Neuen Reichs", ZaZS 90 (1963) 49-66. For an earlier treatment, see S. Gabra, Les conseils de fonctionnaires dans l'Égypte pharaonique. Scènes de récompenses royales aux fonctionnaires (Cairo: 1929).
215. See H. Ricke, G.R. Hughes, and E.F. Wente, The Beit el-Wali Temple pl. 9 and, earlier, Hermann, op. cit. 61 and pl. 9c, Roeder, Der Felsentempel von Bet el-Wali (Cairo: 1938) 35 and pl. 30f. Interestingly enough, with the exception of Hermann, none of the other scholars who have investigated the rewarding scenes have included this one, yet it is identical with them: the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, having been led into the presence of Ramesses II sitting inside a kiosk is decorated with gold  $\delta$ by.w-collars after he has presented the king the booty taken from the Nubians. For the probability that this scene is also to be connected with the Nubian war alluded to in the Aswan inscription of year 2 of Ramesses II (which in turn may actually have been the Nubian war which took place between years 7 and 9 of Seti I) and which this same Amenemope commemorated with three rock-stelae near Aswan and a fourth at Kasr Ibrim, see above, Chapter 1 nr. 143.
216. See Hermann, op. cit. pl. 10 and, earlier, G. Lefebvre, In-

- scriptions concernant les grands prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roy et Amenhotep (Paris: 1929) pl. 2. For the most recent treatment of the texts, see W. Helck, "Die Inschrift über die Belohnung des Hohenpriesters 'Imn-htp", MIO 4 (1956) 161-178. For the possibility that the high priest Amūnhotpe is not being rewarded in the presence and by the hand of the king, himself, but rather in the presence of a statue of the king, since the royal figure stands on a pedestal, see W. Federn, "Roi ou statue royale?", CdE 34 (1959) 214.
217. See, e.g. Wreszinski, Atlas I, pls. 203-205 (from the tomb of Khaemhet, nr. 57, at Thebes), Vandier, op. cit. 557, fig. 300 (from the tomb of Paser, nr. 106, at Thebes), Davies, The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose (London: 1941) pls. 34-37 (from the tomb of Ramose, nr. 55, at Thebes), idem. "Akhenaton at Thebes", JEA 9 (1923) 138-139 and pls. 23, 24, 27 (from the tomb of Parennefer, nr. 188, at Thebes), A. Fakhry, "A Note on the Tomb of Kheruef at Thebes", ASAE 42 (1943) 488-492 (from the tomb of Kheruef, nr. 192, at Thebes), LD III, pl. 230 (from the tomb of Penno, at Aniba).
218. See, e.g. Davies, The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna II (London: 1905) pls. 10 (from the tomb of Panehsy, nr. 6) and 33 (from the tomb of Meryre<sup>f</sup> II, nr. 2); idem. ibid. III, pls. 16-17 (from the tomb of Huy, nr. 1); ibid. IV (1906) pl. 29 (from the tomb of Mahu, nr. 9); ibid. VI (1908) pls. 4 (from the tomb of Parennefer, nr. 7), 17 (from the tomb of Tutu, nr. 8) and 29 (from the tomb of Ay, nr. 25); H. Schäfer, "Ein Relief aus der Zeit Tutanchamuns", Berliner Museen: Berichte aus den preussischen Kunstsammlungen 49 nr. 2 (1928) 39 fig. 3 (from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb); Davies, The Tomb of

of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes (New York: 1933) pls. 9-13, 16 (nr. 49, of the chief scribe of Amūn), *idem.* Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes (New York: 1927) pls. 27-29 (from the tomb of Ipuw, nr. 217, at Thebes), Vandier, *op. cit.* 668 fig. 369 (from the tomb of the god's father of Amūnre<sup>c</sup>, Neferhotep, nr. 50, at Thebes), Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London: 1907) pls. 29-30 (from a Ramesside tomb, owner unknown, at Rifeh), PM I part I 2nd ed. 239 (Oriental Institute, Chicago, photographs 3911-14, 3916 and 10333 of the otherwise unpublished tomb of Amenemope, nr. 148, at Thebes). In at least three instances at Amarna the award seems to be taking place with the royal couple standing in a courtyard, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna I, pl. 30 (from the tomb of Meryre<sup>c</sup> I, nr. 4), *ibid.* II, pl. 41 (from the tomb of Meryre<sup>c</sup> II, nr. 2), and *ibid.* IV, pl. 7 (from the tomb of Pentu, nr. 5). For the window of appearances, see B.J. Kemp, "The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna and the Basic Structure of this City", JEA 62 (1976) 81-99, R. Stadelmann, "Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in der Thebanischen Totentempeln", MDAIK 29 (1973) 221-242. An earlier, but still excellent study is that of H. Schäfer, "Der König im Fenster. Ein Beitrag zum Nachleben der Kunst von Tell El-Amarna", Amtliche Berichte aus den Preusz. Staatsammlungen 40 nr. 3 (1918) 41-61. See IdAe II (1977) 14 (article "Erscheinungsfenster").

219. E.g. in the scenes from the Amarna tombs of Meryre<sup>c</sup>, Meryre<sup>c</sup> II, Parennefer, Ay, and Tutu, and in the tombs of Neferhotep (nr. 50) and Ipuw. For the exact references, see above, n. 218.

220. Or else he is reaching up to the window, either to salute

the king or else to taking the collars which are being handed down, see previous note, as well the scene from the Memphite tomb of Horemheb, cited in n. 218.

221. Not all of these scenes have texts preserved, and when they are, the king's speech is frequently couched in such artificial hyperbole so that the specific reason for the bestowal is not easily apparent. But Meryre<sup>f</sup> I was rewarded "because of his obeying the teaching of Pharaoh, l.p.h., doing all that was said", Tutu "because of his love for Pharaoh, l.p.h." The legate of Miam, Penno was rewarded because he had erected a statue of Ramesses VI in the temple of Derr and also for what he had "done in the Neh(s)y lands, the land of Ikayta, when you had them brought as captives in the presence of Pharaoh, your good lord", and the god's father of Amūn, Neferhotep was rewarded "at the command of my lord, Amūn". (One wonders, in this last case, if this is not an oblique indication of Horemheb paying off a political debt for the support of the clergy of Amūn for his usurpation of the Egyptian throne?). There are two scenes in the Amarna tomb of Huya which show him receiving gold collars. The motivation for the first of these was his appointment as "the overseer of the royal harem, overseer of the treasury, and steward in the house of the mother of the king". Clearly the bestowal of the collars was a concomitant feature of the promotion. The replies of those being rewarded, when preserved, adds little to our knowledge of why they are being so honoured. In general they consist of encomia and paeans of praise of the king.

222. In the scene from the tomb of the anonymous Ramesside offic-


ial from Rifeh, see above, n. 218.

223. In the scene from the tomb of Paser, nr. 106, at Thebes, see above, n. 217.

224. This particular scene, in comparison to the others of this genre, is rather unique. It depicts, I believe, the vizier Paser being rewarded in the Afterworld by the deceased and deified Seti I. My reasoning for this brash supposition is based mainly on the fact that the king, in Osiride guise, is depicted accompanied by the goddess Ma'at and the Souls of Pe and Nekhen. Unless the awarding of gold collars here was taking place during a particular religious ceremony, one which called for the king to appear as Osiris and with various priests and priestesses impersonating the deities, one can hardly come to any other conclusion. While there is no speech of the king, that of the goddess Ma'at is rather telling:

"Words spoken by Ma'at, the daughter of Re':

'My hands are behind you in life and good fortune. I give (----) you joy upon the throne'".

The term "throne" s.t-wr.t is written with the determinative of a shrine , so that the expression here clearly refers to a sanctuary within the temple and, as the speech seems to be addressed to the king rather than Paser, the inference is that we are dealing with a cult statue of the former resting within a sanctuary within the temple. Since Seti is shown in the Osiride form, this can hardly be a cult statue of the living king. Moreover, the attendants of Paser are all styled imy-hnt which Wb. I, 75, 1, vaguely renders "priesterlicher Amtstitel" and the speech of Paser, though replete with lacu-

- nae and containing the usual praise of the king, is filled with references to "the Holy Place" (Dsr.w) and to the necropolis. For the latest edition of these texts, see KRI I, 291-293.
225. Once, in the tomb of Neferhotep (nr. 49) at Thebes, she is shown by herself as she confers gold šby.w-collars on the wife of Neferhotep, see Davies, op. cit. pl. 14.
226. On these collars, see most recently C. Aldred, Jewels of the Pharaohs abridged ed. (New York: 1978) 12-13 and, earlier, A. Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptian Jewellery (London: 1971) 108 pl. 31B. There is an abstract of an interesting unpublished study by E. Ertman, "The 'Gold of Honor' in Royal Representation", Newsletter ARCE 83 (Oct. 1972) 26-27, which, among other things, speculates on the possible connection of this necklace with the cult of Amūn. For the word itself, see Wb. IV, 439, and for its equation with the so-called "Gold of Honour", see H. von Deines, "Das Gold der Tapferkeit, eine militärische Auszeichnung oder eine Belohnung?", ZAeS 79 (1954) 83-86.
227. To the references cited in nn. 217-218 above, add also stelae nrs. 20-22, 25-30 in Section B, below.
228. See, e.g. statues Cairo CG 42126, 42168, and 816, published most recently by Vandier, op. cit. III: Les grands epoques: La statuaire (Paris: 1958) pls. 147 nr. 1, 162 nr. 6, and 169 nr. 4.
229. E.g. the king orders the god's father of Amūn, Neferhotep (tomb nr. 50 at Thebes) "to receive rewards in the presence of the king, consisting of millions of everything, of silver, gold, clothing, unguents, loaves of bread, beer, meat, and

cakes (Urk. IV, 2177). Penno, the legate of Miam, was specifically granted two silver bowls and ointment of gum or resin (see Hermann, "Jubel bei der Audienz..." 62-63 and fig. 16). The high priest Amūnhotpe received, among other things, "one broad collar equipped with two strands of gold beads and a pectoral, a fillet for the head of an official, and two tied-together [----], a total of four items of fine gold in skw-work, weighing ten deben", "twelve silver vessels weighing twenty deben, good bread, meat, [-----], four great amphorae of sweet beer, two hin of sweet ointment" and "twenty arourae of land with grain" (see Helck, "Die Belohnung..." 167). The last item in Amūnhotpe's reward calls to mind the grant of land given to the shield-bearer Wosimare'nakht which was discussed in Chapter 2, Section E, end. The god's father Ay and his wife (see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna VI, pl. 29) are pictured standing and catching the collars which both Akhenaton and Nofretete are showering down at them, while other items, previously thrown down, are heaped up at their feet. These consist of "eighteen double necklaces of gold beads, at least two of them fitted with pectorals, two plain necklaces, five collars, no doubt of threaded faience trinkets, six fillets, probably of the same sort, four golden(?) cups, two with a foot, two without, two metal(?) vases, five signet rings, one pair of gloves, twelve pairs of plain armlets" (ibid. 22). Ay was apparently particularly pleased by the gloves since he is shown in an adjoining subscene proudly wearing them and showing them off to his admiring retainers. Gloves may also have figured as one of the items conferred on the Amarna noble Huya if the horizontal stripes



from the wrist to the elbow on each arm raised to the king in adoration at the awarding ceremony do not indicate a series of banglelike armlets (see Davies, *ibid.* III, pl. 17 and compare the scene from the tomb of Ay just cited). Perhaps the most telling representation is from the tomb of Meryre<sup>f</sup> II where, immediately after the rewarding, Meryre<sup>f</sup> returns home wearing the šby.w-collars. He is followed by two long lines of servants carrying tables laden with all sorts of collars, vessels, foods, jars, flasks, jugs, amphorae, meat, fish, and cloth (*ibid.* II, pl. 37). See also stela nr. 25, below, whose owner proudly records that the king has granted him "a goodly burial in Akhetaton".

230. E.g. *ibid.* II, pl. 36 (from the tomb of Meryre<sup>f</sup> II, nr. 2, at Amarna), *ibid.* III, pls. 5 (from the tomb of Parennefer, nr. 7) and 20 (from the tomb of Tutu, nr. 8); *idem.* The Tomb of Neferhotep pl. 16 (from the tomb of Neferhotep, nr. 49, at Thebes). Also see below, Section B, stela nr. 22. In a number of ancilliary scenes the chariot is shown parked with the charioteer waiting outside the locale in which his master is being rewarded, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna II, pl. 11 (from the tomb of Paneḥsy, nr. 6), *ibid.* III, pl. 17 (from the tomb of Huya, nr. 1), *ibid.* VI, pls. 17 (from the tomb of Tutu) and 30 (from the tomb of Ay, nr. 26), and compare stela nr. 25, below, Section B.
231. See the preceding note for references.
232. E.g. Davies, *op. cit.* V, pl. 9 (from the tomb of Any, nr. 23).
233. E.g. *ibid.* I, p. s. 35, 37 (from the tomb of Meryre<sup>f</sup>, nr. 4), *ibid.* II, pls. 22 (from the tomb of Paneḥsy) and 31 (from the tomb of Meryre<sup>f</sup> II), *ibid.* III, pl. 29 (from the tomb of

Ahmose, nr. 3), Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl. 189 (from the tomb of Khaemhet, nr. 57, at Thebes).

234. See above, n. 151.

235. See above, Chapter 1, the latter part of Section E.

236. See above, n. 181.

237. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 22, 24-26, all of which come from the tomb of Any at Amarna. Stela 29 which was found in situ at Serabit el-Khadim is certainly not a tomb stela.

238. See below, Section B, stelae nrs. 20, 25, 26, and 30.

239. See above, nn. 217-218 for the parallels.

240. See above, n. 148, for the name and for his other monuments.

241. r.f wḏ3. Gabra's rendering, Les conseils 42 "dont la bouche est saine" is perhaps a little too literal.

242. Gabra, loc. cit. renders this a little more freely: "dont la marche est à sa place (en bonne direction)". The sense seems clear enough.

243. KRI I, 309 line 5, reads: <sup>Tw.</sup> ~~ḥw~~ ~~ḥw~~ ~~ḥw~~ ~~ḥw~~ as against Gabra, loc. cit.  
~~ḥw~~ <sup>c</sup> .

244. Taking n as the instrumental "with" rather than as the locative "in", see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar 3rd ed. (Oxford: 1957) par. 162, 7.

245. Gabra's rendering, loc. cit. "le chef du sceau" perhaps attributes more to this title than is permissible. It is probably more preferable to retain the older Wb. V, 637, 11-16 rendering "Vorsteher des Schatzes" or the like.

246. Or, taking ḥ'f.k as a verb: "You appear beautifully".


247. Reading mr-tw imn.

248. Taking mī with the following iw.k dī, see Erman, Neuägypt-

ische Grammatik 2nd ed. (Leipzig: 1933) par. 621.

249. Since p3 is written, it is best to reflect this in the translation. It may even have the force of a vocative here: "O (You)!"
250. Gabra's rendering, loc. cit. 43: "belle est la joie de tes voisins" presupposes that nfr is a verb here, but from its physical position in the sentence this is unlikely. It is better to understand it as a noun coordinate with rsw(t).
251. Literally: "belong to your neighbours".
252. Understanding s<sub>dm</sub> as a plural participle with the ending not written.
253. For the writing of n<sub>tr</sub>.w with three stars, see Wb. II, 354, right hand column and also É. Drioton, "Recueil de cryptographie monumentale", ASAE 40 (1940) 409 nr. 4.
254. Taking <sup>3</sup>irr.tw in the following line, nty twk <sup>3</sup>im-s here, and all of the following verb forms as various expressions of the future resulting as a conswquency implied by the htp-d<sup>3</sup>inswt-formula "may he grant that....".
255. Gabra, loc. cit. 44, takes nh<sub>h</sub> as an adjective and shows the determinative of the entire expression to be the man with his hand to his mouth. Kitchen, loc. cit. reads the determinative as the seated man with two minsculte strokes below. I understand the word as a noun since Wb. II does not recognize it as an adjective. However, it is not attested as a noun there with either of these two determinatives, although a nh<sub>h</sub> determined with the seated god is known, loc. cit. 302, 10-11, as the name or nickname of various gods.
256. Unlike Gabra, loc. cit. I do not take b3.k as the emphasized subject of the following hmn.f, with the suffix .f serving

as a resumptive pronoun. There is no reason not to understand b3.k as a verbal form, see Wb. I, 411, 1-3.

257. I.e. the high priest of Ptah in Memphis will, himself, preside at Hormin's funeral. For wr hrp hmw(.t) (and incidentally sm, an office held simultaneously by the former), see Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I (London: 1947) 38\*-39\*.
258. And not as Kayser, Die Ägyptischen Altertümer 59, translates: "Ptah, der Gott der Wahrheit, der die Gebete des Königs der beiden Länder hört". "King of the Two Lands here refers to Ptah, not Ramesses II, see Sandman-Holmberg, The God Ptah chap. 6, 80-86 ("Ptah as King"). For the epithet "he who hears petitions", see above, nn. 189-202.
259. See above, n. 36.
260. Although not clear in the published photographs, the autographed copy of the text in KRI III, 263, 14, shows  where the restoration sš admirably suits the traces beneath ỉmy-r in the first square. There are four military titles which begin with sš and end with m p3 mš': ss shw n p3 mš' "the scribe of the assemblage of the army", see my Military Rank 66 par. 166 and refs. 238, 240, 468, sš shn n p3 mš' "the scribe who writes commands for the army", *ibid.* 66 par. 168 and refs. 469-470, ss pnrt n p3 mš' "the scribe of the prison of the army", *ibid.* 65-66 par. 165 and ref. 467, and sš dni n p3 mš' "the scribe of the distribution of the army", *ibid.* 66 par. 167 and refs. 238, 240). In view of the horizontal trace at the bottom of the second square of the lacuna, just above the clearly visible n, there is room, though cramped, to restore either shw or shn, both of which are


written with a narrow horizontal determinative. While such a title "overseer of the scribes who write commands for the army" or "overseer of the scribes of the assemblage of the army" is otherwise not known to me, it is clear that it referred to an officer of very high rank. Thus Mose should have been either a "scribe of the infantry" (sš mnfyt) or a "scribe of elite troops" (sš nfrw), *ibid.* loc. cit. See also nn. 147 above and 271 below.

261. Two more lines follow here, the first a lacuna of two squares with n-t legible at the bottom of the first. The traces in the second seem to read  $\bar{\text{imn}} \text{ hr } \bar{\text{i}}' \bar{\text{i}}$  "Amūn, washing(?)", with possibly two more groups lost. I have no real suggestions for what may have originally stood there or how to translate what is visible.
262. Probably, from their shape, copper oxhide-ingots, see G. Bass, Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck (Philadelphia: 1967) 52-78.
263. The table is almost completely destroyed by the oblique fracture running across the face of the upper register. Only its plate is preserved, with the nb-baskets resting on it. The haunch of meat which sits on the register line conceals its foot.
264. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir..." 549-555, distinguishes four distinct cult statues of Ramesses II: 1) Wosimare'-setepenre'-Montu-in-the-Two-Lands, 2) Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-God, 3) Wosimare'-setepenre'-the-God, 4) Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Sun-of-Rulers, and mentions a fifth statue, pictured on a stela in Munich (Gl. 287) perhaps also from Qantir, and named Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Ruler-of-Rulers. This may be related to

the statue Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Sun-of-Rulers, see the next note.

265. The statue Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Sun-of-Rulers is illustrated on one other statue, Hildesheim 1085, described but not shown by Habachi, loc. cit. 540. Here the figure of the king is dressed and crowned as on the stela of Mose, but unlike the latter, is shown in full profile. From these two instances may we conclude that this particular colossal statue was a seated one? It is tempting to suppose that the statue of Munich Gl. 287 (see Habachi, "The Qantir Stela of the Vizier Rahotep..." 67-77 is another example of the statue Ramesses-mi'amūn-the-Sun-of-Rulers with a variant of the name. How such an identification must be ruled out. Not only is there the difference in the name, the statue of the Munich stela is that of a standing figure and the known representations of "Sun-of-Rulers show it to have been a seated statue. It is this last point which is significant. Habachi, "Khata'na-Qantir..." 549-550, has shown that each of the individual statues is depicted on the Qantir stelae in the same attitude. There is a seated statue named Ruler-of-Rulers, but this is the southern of the Memnon Colossi Nebmare'-Ruler-of-Rulers which is also illustrated in the rock inscription of the architect Men, at Aswan, see Habachi, "The Qantir Stela..." 75-76 and figs. 4-5.
266. It is difficult to determine exactly what these other items were, but what looks like a bowl can be seen just over the forehead of Mose, with perhaps three more bowls in the field between the bottom of the text and the upraised arms of the assembled men. Over Mose's head one can make out two slender

cylindrical objects, that on the right perhaps a libation vase.

267. See my The Military Establishment of the Egyptian Empire (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago: 1958) 94-95.
268. See above, Chapter 1, Section A, n. 21.
269. See above, n. 147.
270. For n before the relative form, see Erman, op. cit. par. 835.
271. Literally: "their lord". While nb conceivably may refer to the king, the context here makes it more like that Mose is meant.
272. Taking wbn.k as a virtual relative clause with the preceding twk mī kd.f, rather than the following 'nh.n.
273. Kayser, loc. cit. translates: "so leben wir von Deinem Blick ..." and notes that "Der Rest der Inschrift ist durch Zerstörung leider nicht mehr verständlich", but the authographed copy of the text in KRI III, 264, shows no hatching over over the last group of line 4 or the first group of line 5 of the reply of the assembled soldiers to Ramesses: hr nty 3iry which is then followed by the recognizable traces of the title w'w and the name Msw. As it stands, I agree that the text is incomprehensible here. If, however, we allow a corrupt text, or rather a corrupt orthography, and assume that is a poor writing of , some sense may be made out of it: n m33.k hr nty i-3ir w'w Msw, literally: "on account of your looking at that which the soldier, Mose, did".
274. For the "company", see above, n. 147 and the literature cited there. For the meaning of the name of a military unit of this size, see my Military Rank 74-75 par. 187. Other than

the present instance, a company of this name is not known to me.

275. Accepting the restoration offered in KRI III, 264 n. 6a.
276. Although Kitchen, *ibid.* n. 6b, points out that lines 7-8 of the text were completely erased anciently, his autograph at this point does not reflect this erasure. In line 8 the sundisk at the beginning and half of the cartouche at the end are written without hatching, indicating that these groups, at least, are undamaged and visible. In any event, the restoration can hardly be anything else.
277. As far as I can determine, it is not until the Amarna period that Egyptian chariots are shown with two occupants, the driver and the passenger. In the earlier 18th Dynasty representations, when they are depicted in motion, only a single chariot rider is shown, see e.g. Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl. 26a (from the tomb of Userhet, nr. 56, at Thebes), pl. 347 (from an anonymous tomb, nr. 143, at Thebes), Davies, The Tombs of Two Officials pls. 6 (from the tomb of Amūnhotpesise, nr. 75, at Thebes) and 24 (from the tomb of Nebamūn, nr. 90), relief Luxor Museum J. 129 (published by Y. Yadin, The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands in the Light of Archaeological Study [New York: 1963] 200), sculptor's model(?) Hannover 2959 (published by I. Woldering, Ausgewählte Werke der ägyptischen Sammlung 2nd ed. [Hannover: 1958] pl. 38); faience tile Metropolitan Museum of Art 17.194.2797 (published by Yadin, *op. cit.* 188). Chariots with only a driver are also shown on a number of pictorial ostraca, e.g. Cambridge EGA 4287.1943 (published by E. Brunner-Traut, Egyptian Artists' Sketches [Leiden: 1979] pl. 23 nr. 27), Stockholm MM 14111



(published by Petersen, Zeichnungen aus einer Totenstadt [Stockholm: 1973] pls. 45 nrs. 81, 82, and 46 nr. 83); Brussels E 6438 and E 6440 (published by J. Capart, "Ostraca illustrant des texts littéraires", CdE 16 [1941] 191-193 figs. 2-3), Berlin 21771 and 23678 (published by Brunner-Traut, Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder (Bildostraka) der Deutschen Museen und Sammlungen [Wiesbaden: 1956] pl. 36 nrs. 102-103), Munich 1551 vso (ibid. nr. 104), Deir el-Medineh 2158 (published by J. Vandier D'Abbadie, Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh (nos. 2256 a 2722) [Cairo: 1937] pl. 19), ibid. nrs. 2783, 2784, and 2787 (idem. Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el Médineh nos. 2734 a 3053 [Cairo: 1959] pls. 105-106). There is, however, no really good way of determining if any of these ostraca can unequivocally be assigned to the 18th Dynasty before the Amarna period. The dating criterion based on the number of spokes in chariot's wheel has been seriously questioned (see Brunner-Traut, Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder 102 n. 7), but if the proposal of H.A. Liebowitz, "Horses in New Kingdom Art and the Date of an Ivory from Megiddo", JARCE 6 (1967) 18, that in the pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty, all four legs of the horses touch the ground, with fore and hindlegs spread apart to form a narrow-based isosceles triangle is correct, then possibly Munich 1551 vso, Deir el Medineh 2158 and Deir el Medineh 2783 may also date to this period. A number of representations from the earlier 18th Dynasty picture the chariot parked, an attendant next to it, while its owner inspects his harvests, but whether this attendant was a charioteer or a sais is impossible to tell. For these, see e.g. J.J. Tylor.

and F.L. Griffith, The Tomb of Paheri at El Kab (London: 1894) pl. 111, Wreszinski, op. cit. I, pls. 191 (from the tomb of Khaemhet, nr. 57, at Thebes), 231 (from the tomb of Menna, nr. 69, at Thebes), 260 (from the tomb of Djehutynefer, nr. 80, at Thebes), and 424 (painting British Museum 37982, from an anonymous Theban tomb). That non-Egyptian chariots at this time carried both a driver and a passenger is clear from the representations of such on the sidepanels of the chariot of Thutmose IV, see Yadin, op. cit. 192-193 and compare Bruyère, Deir el Médineh Année 1926. Sondage au temple de Thotmès II (Cairo: 1952) pls. 3-4.

278. The realistic manner in which the passenger steadies himself by resting both hands on the edge of the sidepanel is not without interest. When the vehicle is being used in combat, the passenger usually holds a shield in one hand and operates or helps to guide the reins with his other (e.g. Wreszinski, op. cit. II, pls. 62a, 137, 151, 183), maintaining his balance, one supposes, by spreading his legs squarely apart and bracing his body against the side of the car. In many instances, however, (e.g. *ibid.* pls. 17, 64, 66, 83, 92a, 169) only the arm and hand holding the shield are visible and it may be assumed that the other either holds on to the sidepanel on the far side of the chariot (*ibid.* pl. 128) or to the body of the charioteer (*ibid.* pl. 67). When the vehicle is being driven in a non-military situation and the passenger has both hands free, he usually steadies himself as on stela nr. 22, e.g. Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna II, pls. 26 and 13, *ibid.* VI, pl. 20, Yadin, op. cit. 213-214 (the painted box of Tutankhamūn), J.D. Cooney, Amarna

Reliefs from Hermopolis in American Collections (Brooklyn: 1965) 52 fig. 50a (a Ramesside relief from North Sakkara), Wreszinski, op. cit. pl. 166, Davies, The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep pl. 16. Ofen, moreover, the chariot box is equipped with handgrips. These are affixed to either its front or sides and the passenger grasps them instead of holding directly onto the edge of the car, see e.g. Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna I pl. 19, *ibid.* II pls. 13, 36, *ibid.* IV, pl. 22, *ibid.* VI, pl. 20.

279. Interestingly enough, while the bowcase, obviously an essential fixture of the chariot in military situations, is also usually shown attached to the sidepanel even when the vehicle is used for peaceful pursuits (including, of course, hunting desert game), the chariot is, nevertheless, shown without it on occasion. In tomb art I know of only one instance, on the chariot in the tomb of Khaemhet (Wreszinski, op. cit. I, pl. 191), but on the pictorial ostraca the chariot without the bowcase attached is more common, see ostraca Stockholm MM 14049 (published by Petersen, op. cit. pl. 65 nr. 126), MM 14112, 14113, Berlin 21771, 23678, Brussels E 6438, 6440, and Deir el Medineh 2158, 2162, 2169, 2176 (the last three published by Vandier D'Abbadie, Catalogue... nos. 2256 a 2722 pls. 20, 22, 23) and Deir el Medineh 2783 and 2794 (the latter published *idem.* Catalogue... nos. 2256 a 2734 a 3053 pl. 106). Where no citation has been given immediately following any of the other ostraca just listed, the full reference will be found in n. 277 above.
280. For the reading of the title as sš wdhw, see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar 488, Signlist R3 n. 4. For other examples,

- e.g. statues Cairo CG 42235, 42244-42248. For the name Any, see PN I, 2, 11. For his tomb and other monuments, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna V, 6-9 and pls. 9-11, 19-23.
281. For ii with the sense of "return", "come back", rather than just "come", particularly in the idiom ii m htp "to return in peace", "to turn home happily", see Wb. I, 37, 33-34. For m hsw.t "with rewards", *ibid.* III, 158, 2. Davies, *loc. cit.* translates the following wd.f as "who orders for me" as if wd were a participial form. There is no reason not to take as a sdm.f with with past reference and the beginning of a new sentence.
282. For the name, see PN I, 388, 11. Although we normally tend to assume that "charioteer" is a military designation (see my Military Rank 67-68 pars. 171-173) it is clear from this instance that it occurs in non-military contexts. One wonders if the man driving the chariot of "the royal scribe of memoranda, Tjay" on the fragment of a Ramesside tomb relief from North Sakkara (see above, n. 278) is the personal charioteer of this Tjay, or, since the fragment may picture a military context,—there is a bowman and a second chariot in this register and the feet of marching men in the register above it—, or the royal scribe is actually a passenger in a military vehicle driven by a regular chariotry soldier of the rank.
283. So described by Hassan, *loc. cit.* On the other hand, Zivie, *loc. cit.* simply calls it a relief.
284. One can hardly suppose any other attitude. If he had been holding a fan like the third man at the right, we would expect some trace of its shaft and butt to be visible.

285. Which would make him a person of some importance, as is also suggested by his larger size. For the sandal, which is of the newer type with the projection curving upward at the toe, see M. Abdul-Qader Muhammed, The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes (Cairo: 1966) 156-157.
286. For this rather common mode of dress, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna I, 10-11, and compare Abdul-Qader Muhammed, op. cit. 152.
287. For this very common name, see PN I, 119, 13. Unfortunately there is no way of identifying him with any of the many men known to have had this name. Nor do I have any suggestion for what was lost in his title.
288. For the pose, which goes back to the Old Kingdom, see Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV 67 fig. 20 nrs. 69-73. It is well attested for statues in the round in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, see ibid. III. La statuaire pls. 16 nrs. 1, 3 (statues Cairo CG 14 and 32), 35 nr. 1 (statue Brooklyn 50.77), 43 nr. 1 (statue Cairo CG 80), 45 nrs. 1, 2 (statues Cairo CG 46992 and Copenhagen 1560). However, inasmuch as this pose is not attested by Vandier for any of the New Kingdom private statues, we may then assume that it is Any himself who is being pictured, not a statue of him.
289. See above, n. 286, and the references cited there.
290. For the name, see PN I, 184, 6.
291. For the significance of the bovine, obviously intended as a sacrificial offering, hence the festive decorations, see H. Kees, "Bemerkungen zum Tieropfer der Aegypter und seiner Symbolik", Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu

Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl. (1942) nr. 2, 71-88 and more recently J. Leclant, "La 'Mascarade' des boeufs gras et le triomphe de l'Égypte", MDAIK 14 (1956) 129-145. Although the decoration of the horns of the various beasts illustrated by Leclant, figs. 1-21 and pls. 7-8, is missing from that of the ox on stela 24, the collar and flower adornment of the latter is shown on a number of his examples, e.g. figs. 1-3, 8, 14-16, and 18-19.

292. Loc. cit. I have qualified this identification because I think that Davies was wrong. The entrance of and the shrine itself with the seated statue of Any are quite well preserved, *ibid.* pl. 20. For Davies to have been correct, two assumptions have to be made: a) that the representation of the structure on the stela should be in accord with the actual physical shrine and 2) that the figure of Any on the stela is actually that of the statue in the shrine and should look like it. While the first of these assumptions can, more or less, be defended by supposing that the cornice of the structure on the stela actually represents the roof of the tomb and that the curved element beneath this cornice is the roof of the shrine, curved to conform to the concave contour of the ceiling of the passage leading to the shrine's entrance, the horizontal elements then being interpreted as the cavetto cornice and torus molding so evident on the real doorway, we have difficulty with the second assumption. The figure of Any on the stela in no way conforms with his statue in the shrine. The latter sits on a high-backed chair, set on a pedestal which rests on a raised dais and is reached by a short flight of steps. The pose of the statue is quite un-

like the figure on the stela. As far as I can make out, the statue wears no šby.w-collars and sits rather stiffly, the arms bent at the elbow and resting on his lap. Compare this with the animated attitude of Any on the stela which is certainly that of a living person engaged in a vigorous action, not that of a statue. Even more telling is the fact that the statue in the niche sits on a high-backed chair while the figure on the stela sits on a folding stool. Since, to my knowledge, statues are never depicted seated on the latter item of furniture, it is then conclusive that the representation of Any on the stela pictures the man himself and not his statue.

293. In general, representations of people seated on stools are rare on stelae, and outside of the present instance I have been unable to find any where the legs of the stool terminate in ducks' heads. For examples in tomb paintings, however, see Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes (New York: 1930) pl. 17, idem. The Tomb of Two Sculptors at Thebes (New York: 1925) pl. 7 (from the tomb of the chief sculptor, Nebamūn, nr. 181), Wreszinski, Atlas I, pl. 369 (from the tomb of Yepuy, nr. 217, at Thebes). Apparently it was commonplace enough to figure on the occasional ostrakon, see, e.g. ostrakon Munich 1549 (published by Brunner-Traut, Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder pl. 2 nr. 95). A number of such stools, some of them in an excellent state of preservation, are extant, e.g. H.Carter, The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen. Discovered by the Late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter III (London: 1933) pl. 33, Berlin 12552 (published in Aegyptische Museum Berlin [Berlin: 1967] nr. 643), Metropolitan Museum of Art

Hayes, Scepter II, 202 and fig. 116, British Museum 2477, described but not illustrated in British Museum, A Guide to the Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Egyptian Rooms, and the Coptic Room (London: 1922) 87 and perhaps identical with the British Museum stool illustrated in J.G. Wilkinson, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians new ed. I (New York: 1878) 411 fig. 180 nr. 1. For a general discussion and additional bibliography, see Vandier, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne III, 60 nn. 4 and 7 and earlier Schäfer, loc. cit. n. 3, and Wrezinski, op. cit. I, pl. 39b. Although Hayes, loc. cit. notes that this type of stool was most popular during the 18th Dynasty, its attestation in the Deir el-Medineh tomb of Yehpy clearly shows that it was still in use during the Ramesside period. Finally, for a discussion of the symbolism of the duck's head, see A. Hermann, "Das Motiv der Ente mit zurückgewendetem Kopfe im ägyptischen Kunstgewerbe", ZAeS 68 (1932) 86-105.

294. See my "The Royal Butler Ramessesesemperre'", JARCE 13 (1976) 120 (stela Cairo TR 3/7/24/17) and 121 (lintel(?) Brooklyn 35.1315). There, as here, the inscriptions associated with the figures performing the action seem to begin in the middle of a sentence. Hence it is not improbable that the picture of the worshipper's action is to be read as a rebus in combination with the rest of the text. After all, any hieroglyph is a picture en petite. For the pictorial nature of these and conversely the hieroglyphic nature of pictorial representations, see now the brilliant study of H.G. Fischer, "Redundant Determinatives in the Old Kingdom", The Metropolitan Museum Journal 8 (1973) 7-24.



295. A pit has obliterated the left third of the mr-canal which, incidentally, looks more like the š-pool.
296. For the name, which is attested only here, see PN I, 2, 12.
297. I take m3'-hrw here, as I have done virtually throughout the entire study, in an anticipatory sense, i.e. not that he is already dead and thus "justified", but that he will be "justified" in the future, and clearly, "with (m) a goodly burial". See my "The Royal Butler Ramessesesemperre" 119 n. 16 and 122 n. 46.
298. Davies, loc. cit. 1Q, translated: "Unto your ka! A bouquet of the Aten". Steindorff, loc. cit. 65, misread the opening words here and was unable to translate. Davies' translation is poetic but makes little sense. If, however, we understand k3 as "nourishment", "offering" (see Wb. V, 91, 3-13 and *ibid.* the right hand column for the spelling with the k3-arms and the stroke, but no determinative), then we have a good non-verbal sentence expressing a timeless state of being, and so I have taken it.
299. Steindorff, loc. cit. apparently followed by Ranke, since there is no independent listing for P3-h3 in PN, read the name as P3-h3rw "Pakharu" (see PN I, 116, 17), probably on the basis of the throwstick determinative. But the throwstick only indicates that the man or the name was of foreign origin. I see no reason to emend it and consequently have followed Davies, loc. cit. in reading it as written.
300. It was acquired at a sale of art in Egypt in 1894, but beyond this, nothing is known of its origin. If, however, its owner can be equated with one of the Merysakhmets from Deir el-Medineh (see below, n. 318), perhaps it can be assigned

to the Theban area.

301. See above, n. 286, and the literature cited there.

302. With ntr.w written in honorific transposition.

303. Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes 32, translated ir.t 'nh tm.w as a participial phrase qualifying the preceding p3w.ty: "Dieu des premiers ages qui crea l'espece humaine". While the general sense of this is correct, grammatically it should be noted that ir.t is an infinitive and any translation should reflect this.





304. Koefoed-Petersen did not attempt to translate dd.tw m ib.f m3' hpr.sn which seems logically to be the result of Ptah's creation. The sense seems clear: Ptah is the Primeval One who fashioned the life of mankind, a fact so acknowledged by whomsoever stops to ponder on it. Of course, to our modern ears this is an obvious and cumbersome repetition.

305. Compare Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit: "pour lui, il n'est rien qu'il ignore". The text: nn hpr.wt nb(.wt) m hm.f hpr.w, literally: "there does not exist everything which has come into existence as that which he does not know their coming into existence".

306. Hpr.f hr.t hrw r' nb hnty s3.n.f. For this transitive use of hpr whereby it has the force of shpr, see Wb. III, 264, 16-17.



307. All of the preceding sentences have, thus far, been descriptive and qualifying epithets of Ptah in line 1. With the change to the pronoun of the second person singular, the speaker has arrived at the main thought and clause. This same structure is repeated in the next section of the text where Sakhmet is invoked towards the end of line 5, except

that the verb of the main clause of this second section, towards the end of line 8, is now in the dual, its antecedents being both Ptah and Sakhmet.

308. There is a deep gouge in the surface of the text at this point which has all but obliterated the tall vertical sign(s) which stood there. Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit. read in the lacuna , but a careful scrutiny of my own photograph shows that, while such a reading is possible, it is more likely that what stood there according to the preserved traces was  which is nothing more than the determinative of pr-wr. This is even more probable in light of the mention almost immediately afterwards of the pr-nsr (for which see the following note). For the pr-wr, see Wb. I, 517, 2-4.
309. For the pr-nsr, see Wb. I, 518, 1.
310. The imagery invoked here is striking. Mdr, Wb. II, 187, 7, is used "vom Berg der dem Wind abhalt". Hsfy, transcribed by Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit. as  and Mogensen, "A Stele ..." 39 as , was already correctly recognized by Platt, "Notes..." 132. While it is not attested in the Wb. in this exact spelling and nuance, the sense is clear enough, compare Wb. III, 337,5-338, 1.
311. For the idiom hsī hr "to rage against", see Wb. III, 159, 9. I take the verb here as the 3rd feminine singular of the Old Perfective.
312. For m<sup>c</sup>b3 "spear", see Wb. II, 47, 1-3.
313. It is with this sentence that the long invocation to Ptah and Sakhmet ends and the main reason for the prayer of Merysakhmet to them is stated. Only Platt, op. cit. 131, connected h<sup>c</sup>w.ī "my limbs" with the preceding nn n.f h3ī.t


(for the construction, see Erman, Neuägyptische Grammatik par. 478, end). Mogensen, "A Stele..." 40 and Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes 32, both assumed that it was the subject of the following *sw m sdb.w*, but this is incorrect grammatically. Merysakhmet is asking the two deities to grant several things, the first of which, a "happy lifetime" etc. is a noun clause serving as the direct object of *dī.tn*. After this, however, the remaining desiderata are expressed by verbal clauses, i.e. *sdm.f* forms with noun subjects, see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar par. 70.

314. See the preceding note. The subject of *sw* is, of course, *hr.ī*.

315. Neither Mogensen nor Koefoed-Petersen, loc. cit. attempted to translate this sentence. Koefoed-Petersen, Receuil. loc. cit. transcribed the first two hieroglyphs of line 10 as , but as Platt, op. cit. 132 and pl. 31, correctly noted, what is actually written is . I have rendered this and the following as independent sentences, but it is quite possible that they are also dependent on *dī.tn* as additional desiderata to be granted by the divine couple. Admittedly, my translation of *wb3* here is a guess and I really do not know what both this and the following sentence mean.

316. While *shwī* "totality", Wb. IV, 212, 6-15, is not attested in this spelling, the word can hardly be anything else. Koefoed-Petersen's transcription of the text, loc. cit. omits the plural dots beneath the bookroll determinative, they they are quite apparent on the photograph.

317. There is a lacuna of at least two squares before the legible and preserved traces which begin with *nswt*. Platt's facsimile, loc. cit. pl. 31, confirmed by a careful examination of

the photograph, shows immediately to the right of nswt in the lacuna the tip and blade of the mdh-axe and beneath this there is a clear t, thus: . The title, then, is not lost, but is to be read: mdh nswt m kd which, though not to my knowledge attested elsewhere, is undoubtedly a variant of the well-known mdh-kd nswt "stone mason of the king", Wb. II, 190, 15.

318. For the name, see PN I, 157, 25. While no other "stone mason of the king" of this name is known to me, it is interesting to note that out of thirty-four randomly collected examples of this name, twenty-nine come from Deir el-Medineh and five of these, Theban graffiti nrs. 356, 466, 1841, 2080, and 2301) belonged to a Merysakhmet who was an "outline draftsman" (sš kd).
319. Usually the apron is not indicated on the two-dimensional representations of seated figures. A least a random perusal of the New Kingdom stelae published in the Cairo Catalogue Générale, Tosi and Roccati, Stele ... di Deir el Medina, Koefoed-Petersen, Les stèles égyptiennes, and Stewart, Egyptian Stelae... have produced no examples. Out of the thus-far published volumes of British Museum stelae which contain mostly or completely New Kingdom stelae (vols. 5-10) only three examples, British Museum 797 (vol. 7, pl. 36), 156 (vol. 9, pl. 28), and 146 (ibid. pl. 47) show the apron depicted in the same manner as on stela 28.
320. See above, n. 267, and the literature cited there.
321. Weidemann, op. cit. 332-333, believing that the man in question was the viceroy of Kush, Paser I, under Ay and Horemheb (see the next note) assumed that the writing s3t nswt


was an error for s3 nswt and accordingly noted this with sic! While it is true that nothing precedes s3t nswt, there is, as will be shown below in nn. 322 and 325, good reason for believing that the sic! was not justified, and that s3t nswt was indeed intended, although the scribe did omit something in front of it.

322. Wiedemann, loc. cit. read the name as "Paser", understanding the hieroglyphs p3 ntr as an epithet "the god" which indicated that Paser had been deified. Moret, op. cit. 145, disregarded the words p3 ntr, but read the hieroglyph of the seated man on the throne which occurs in one of the three writings of the name as part of it: "Pawerpasep". Gauthier, op. cit. 200, agreed with Wiedemann that he was the viceroy Paser I, but suggested that the ntr-sign was actually to be read as the throwstick and stood for some word for foreigner, again taking this as an epithet alluding to perhaps a Nubian origin for the viceroy. While none of the three proposed readings of the name are attested in PN, that of Moret can be immediately discarded. The hieroglyph of the man seated on a throne is simply a variant determinative replacing the bearded seated man which occurs in one of the other writings. Since in all three instances, the penultimate sign before the man determinative is the ntr-sign, we must assume that it was the ntr-sign which the scribe intended. Consequently, we may also discard Gauthier's proposed reading. If we rule out the proposed identification with the viceroy Paser I which is based on both reading the three hieroglyphs following sr as an epithet, together with the assumption that s3t nswt which precedes the name once is an error for s3 nswt (see the



preceding note), then I see no obstacle for reading the name as it is written in all three instances: Paserpanetjer.

323. The eyeball of <sup>2</sup>ir is missing. For the name, see PN I, 114, 24, and for the title, above, n. 147.

324. Alternately, it is possible that the two lines "made by the soldier, Parennefer" simply identify the dedicator of the stela and that we should assume that what Parennefer is doing is to be read as a hieroglyph kb, kbh, or the like, meaning "make a libation". Such an ideographic writing is attested for kbh from the Late Period on, see Wb. V, 27, the right hand column. There is no reason why it could not have been so used earlier. If so, then this would be combined with the following line to read: "Making a libation for his lord, etc." However, it should be noted that whichever alternative this line is to read with, it is out of place in respect to whatever precedes it. For reading the combination of the picture + the text, see also above, n. 294.

325. Wiedemann, *loc. cit.* transcribed the beginning of the line as m rmn followed by the determinatives(?) of the '(-arm beneath which was a disk. I would divide it differently. Starting at the very end, the sign which he read as a disk looks more like the breast . This, in turn, suggests that the three preceding signs, mn + its phonetic complement n + the '(-arm are to be read as a single word mn'(.t) "tutor", for the writing of which without the final .t see Wb. II, 94, 5, the right hand column. If I am correct, then it is obvious that this title which is frequently associated with the children of the royal family should be connected with the problematic s3t nswt at the beginning of the horizontal line

at the top of the stela. S3t nswt, then, is surely to be as written, with the understanding that the artisan who carved the stela omitted mn<sup>f</sup>(.t) for one reason or another.

326. Wiedemann's statement, loc. cit. that the stela was "of exceedingly bad workmanship" is nowhere better demonstrated than here, unless the lady suffered a withered left arm which is accurately shown in the same manner as is the polio-crippled right leg of the "doorkeeper, Rama" of stela Copenhagen 134, (see Koefoed-Petersen, op.cit. pl. 44). Such sloppiness of execution, however, is more likely when one looks at the general layout of the stela, with the off-center cartouche flanked by the wedjat-eyes, the poorly cut hieroglyphs, and the strange arrangement of the three lines of text discussed above in n. 324. Also worthy of note is the fact that this woman seemingly wears a man's calf-length pleated kilt and a wig similar to those worn by the seated men. Yet that she is a woman is clear from the determinative of her name and from her well-defined breast. For the valanced wig worn by women, see Aldred, "Hair Styles..." 145.
327.  . The name is not attested in PN, but compare tt, *ibid.* I, 383, 21-23.
328.  . The name is not attested in PN.
329. For the name, see PN I, 55, 15.
330. Several illegible traces are evident beneath the name. Unless these were a plene writing of m3<sup>f</sup>-hrw, it is most likely that they specified the military unit to which Parennefer belonged. This could have been any of the following, the "company" (s3, see my Military Rank 136 ref. 320a-c), a "ship's contingent" (hnyt, *ibid.* 136 ref. 321a-c), the "Residence"



(p3 Hnw, ibid. 137 ref. 324), or a "garrison troop" (i'w'yt, ibid. 138, refs. 333-334).

331. Following the suggestion of Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, loc. cit. note c, that the horizontal n written here be emended to mh.

332. For the <sup>3</sup>imy-r pr-hd n nbw hd, compare Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I 26\* nr. A90, which deals with the similar title <sup>3</sup>imy-r pr-hd n hd nbw, obviously a variant of it (see also Wb. I, 518, 5-8). While a Sebekhotpe (called Panehsy) is known to have held this office in the years 30-36 of Amūn-hotpe III (see Helck, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches [Leiden: 1958] 512 nr. 9), stela nr. 29 is clearly Ramesside in date and cannot have been the same man. However, neither Helck, loc. cit. nor Černý in his supplement to and review of Helck's book, Bibliotheca Orientalis 19 (1962) 140-144, included the latter among the incumbents of this high administrative office. From this we might well assume that the Sebekhotpe of stela nr. 29, though he was an "overseer of the treasury of gold and silver", was not the "overseer of the treasury". Yet he was a royal butler and in the Ramesside period the royal butler ranked among the highest magnates of the land, often performing functions normally exercised by such officials as the vizier or the viceroy of Kush, see my "The Royal Butler Ramessesesemperre" 123-124, and also n. 334, below.

333. On the title hry sšt3w in general, see my "Two Unrecognized Monuments of Shedsunefertem", JNES 39 (1980) 305, commentary note g and the literature cited there. Although no other instances of a hry sšt3w n 'h šps are known to me, compare Wb.

IV, 299, 7, hry sšt3w n nswt, and statue Cairo CG 42164, hry sšt3w n pr nswt.

334. For the name, see PN I, 305, 6. The only other instance known to me of a royal butler with this name is found in a papyrus in Turin, see now S. Allam, Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri (Tübingen: 1973) pl. 133, which is dated to a "year 1, month 2 of Shomu, day 7" of an unspecified 20th Dynasty king (but see below) and which reads:

"the coming of the nobles, the vizier Neferronpe, the first prophet of Amūn, Ramessesnakht, the royal butler Setherwenemef, the royal butler Pre(nakht, the [over-seer] of the treasury Montuemtowe, the royal butler Atumnakht, the royal butler Sebekhotpe, and the brigade commander Payiri"

to bring some mortuary equipment for the royal tomb. If the two Sebekhotpes are one and the same man, as is likely, the naming of him here after the overseer of the treasury Montuemtowe suggests that, along with the royal butler Atumnakht, he was immediately subordinate to Montuemtowe. If, then, his designation as "overseer of the treasury of gold and silver" discussed above, in n. 332, did not refer to the office held by the head of this administration,—and it probably did not, since on Stela Sinai 302 Sebekhotpe still refers to himself, first of all, as a royal butler—, the title nevertheless still indicates his position within the treasury administration. The dates for the two documents can probably be narrowed down with a little more precision. Of the three great officials mentioned in the Turin papyrus, the vizier Neferronpe is attested from year 1 of Ramesses IV to year 13

of Ramesses IX (so Helck, op. cit. 464), and the first prophet of Amūn Ramessesnakht from year 1 of Ramesses IV to at least the reign of Ramesses VII (so Černý, CAH 3rd ed. II, chap. 35: "Egypt from the Death of Ramesses III to the End of the Twenty-First Dynasty" 637 n. 2). The overseer of the treasury Montuemtowe, however, is attested only from the end of the reign of Ramesses III or year 1 of Ramesses IV until year 4 of Ramesses V (so Helck, op.cit. 519). Consequently, the Turin text and two years later, stela nr. 29, are to be dated to years 1 and 3, respectively, of the reigns of either Ramesses IV or Ramesses V.

335. Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, op. cit. 194, translated: "all that the sun disk embraces praises thee" which, though essentially what the sentence means, is nonetheless somewhat free. "All" is not present in the Egyptian unless it is inherent in šn, written here with two archaic cartouches, the first to be read phonetically, the second as the determinative.
336. Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, loc. cit. did not really attempt to translate this sentence which reads p3 hnmw mhw(t), but did suggest, loc. cit. note d, that it might be rendered "he who joined the family". What this might mean completely escapes me. While, admittedly, my own translation is little more than a guess, in view of the fact that the provenance of the stela is the mining country in Sinai, it seems plausible to suppose that mhw(t) is better understood in its meaning of "tribe", "clan of Bedouin", etc. (see Wb. II, 114, 8) rather than in that of "family" (ibid. 114, 7). If so, the the participle hnmw should refer to an action per-

formed by the king in connection with these desert dwellers. While none of the meanings assigned to hnm in Wb. III, 377, 3-379, 20, basically all nuances and extended uses of "join", "unite oneself with", and the like, really suit the king with regard to the desert tribesmen who, after all, are normally considered hostile to Egypt, there is another, less common hnm "build", "fashion", "create", *ibid.* 382, 1-3, which might be suitable here in the sense that it is the king who creates all, even the Bedouin. Compare the Great Hymn to the Aton from the tomb of Ay (published by Sandman, Texts from the Time of Akhenaton 94), although there it is also true that it is the Aton, not the king, who is pictured as the universalistic creator:

"You fashioned the earth as you wished, you alone.  
All mankind, herds and flocks, everything on earth  
that walks on legs, and that which is the heaven  
which flies upon their wings, the lands of Syria and  
Kush, and the land of Egypt. You set every man to  
his place and you make their requirements".

Of course it is also possible that we have here still another verb hnm, the meaning of which is unknown.

337. Not translated by Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *loc. cit.* What is written here seems to be a badly-formed d-serpent with a t underneath it. To be read d.t "forever" and connected with the preceding phrase?
338. Rn "name" is clear. What precedes it looks like a misformed ssm. While possibly a title of Sebekhotpe, on analogy with titles like sšm.w-hb "festival leader" (Wb. IV, 288, 22-23) or sšm.w-k3.w "director of offerings" (*ibid.* 289, 1), it is

more likely, since no such title is attested in the Wb. that this participial phrase also refers to the king, specifying still another benefice of his.

339. To date there have been no exhaustive studies in depth of this title and the office which it encompassed, although I already have touched upon some aspects of it in my "The Royal Butler Ramessesesemperre'" 123-126, and again in my "The Royal Butler Ramessesessami'on", CdE (forthcoming) Section C.
340. For representations of aged and aging people, see E. Riefstahl, "An Egyptian Portrait of an Old Man", JNES 10 (1951) 65-73.
341. The hrw-oar is quite clear. It is followed by a bird-hieroglyph which, however, really does not look like the quail chick (w), but the following double reed leaves and the determinative of the man with his hand to his mouth seem to insure the reading.
342. See above, Chapter 1, stelae nrs. 1-19.
343. See above, nn. 215-216 for references.
344. See above, n. 214, for references.
345. See above, nn. 217 and 218 for references in tomb art, and for stelae, nrs. 20 and 21.
346. See R.W. Smith and D.B. Redford, The Akhenaten Temple Project I. Initial Discoveries (Warminster: 1976) 132-134, pls. 63-65.
347. Ibid. 134.
348. Ibid. nn. 86-88. The texts in question are Urk. IV, 811, 1459-1460, 1867, and Papyrus Boulaq 18, 37, 1-2, and 45, 1.
349. Urk. IV, 2158, Helck, "Das Dekret des Königs Haremheb", ZAeS 80 (1955) 125-126. For translations, see Smith and Redford,

- op. cit. 134, Helck, op. cit. 126, and, earlier, K. Pflüger, "The Edict of King Horemheb", JNES 5 (1946) 266.
350. Helck, loc. cit. translated mkt as "protection", a meaning well-attested for it, see Wb. II, 160, 22-161, 4, but in the light of what follows, "protection" is hardly appropriate. Pflüger's rendering, loc. cit. "(wants) to protect" is also unsatisfactory since mkt is clearly a noun. Redford, loc. cit. is probably correct in assigning a meaning of "provisions", "provisioning", or the like for it, based on mk "provisions", "nourishment", Wb. II, 162, 5.
351. Helck's "für jeden (Ersten)", loc. cit. makes no sense here. If his restoration of the text at this point (hrw t)p or (r' t)p, depending on how the sundisk is to be read (see Urk. IV, 2158), is correct, the allusion is certainly to a specific point in time, literally "every first day". However, since Horemheb's officials came "three times a month", as the following sentence relates, then "every hrw/r' tp" obviously cannot have been "every first day" of the month. It is not improbable that the phrase did mean something like "holiday" as both Redford and I have taken it.
352. While the antecedent of the suffix .sn in phr.sn was probably expressed in the lacuna at the beginning of the line, it is clear that .sn refers to the officials who were present at the banquet outside the window.
353. Redford's "at royal expense", loc. cit. is perhaps a bit too free.
354. Loc. cit.
355. By his use of "....." Helck, loc. cit. suggests that the lacuna between nb and hry.w tp nw mnfyt was a very large one.

Actually it is only one square wide, just enough room for the restoration t3.wy proposed by both Pflüger and Redford, loc. cit.

356. See above, stelae nrs. 1, 6, 8-10, 13, and possibly 2, as well as the rock-cut stelae nrs. 14-19. Of all of these stelae with firm provenances, only nr. 6 was found in a tomb.
357. See above, stelae nrs. 22, 24-26. Those which do not come from a tomb are nrs. 23, from the Sphinx amphitheater at Giza, and nr. 29, from outside the Hathor sanctuary at Sera-bit el-Khadim.
358. See above, stelae nrs. 2, 5, 7, 12, and 13.
359. This certainly was so in the case of stelae nrs. 22, and 24-26 which were dedicated to Any by various of his associates and subordinates.
360. The šby.w-collars do not appear worn on only one of the group of stelae nrs. 20-30, namely nr. 24. This has been included, however, because of the presentation of the bowine to Any, an act which is paralleled in several of the tomb scenes which narrate the events immediately after the collars have been bestowed, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna VI, pl. 20, idem. The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep pl. 17, and compare idem. The Rock Tombs of el Amarna II, pl. 37.
361. See above, n. 228, for references.
362. For the restoration of the name, see Davies, The Rock Tombs of el Amarna V, 10. For the name see PN I, 140, 6.
363. For the name, see ibid.
364. See Davies, op. cit. 6 and pl. 8, and compare Bouriant, op. cit. 49.
365. See Bouriant, loc. cit. He mentioned, ibid. n. 2, that a

fifth stela had been found, but that he was unable to locate it in the Cairo Museum.

366. See Davies, loc. cit. 7.

367. Ibid. 8 and pls. 8-10, 20. Pls. 8 and 20 show the statue in the shrine. Only in the scene reproduced in pl. 9 is the offering table preserved.

368. Davies, loc. cit. pl. 10 and earlier, though in a less accurate copy, Bouriant, loc. cit. 56 fig. 21.

369. See Davies, loc. cit. pl. 9.

370. What is preserved on the wall here is which certainly is to be restored "[His wife], the lady of the h[ouse] Aa---". Davies assumed that she had survived Any because of her speech:

"She says: '----- son ----- you arrive -----'. He (i.e. the king) commanded for you your place of eternity'".


However, on the basis of the speech of the servitor Meryre' who offers Any a libation in the same scene (see below), it is more likely that the figure of Any is not that of the deceased Any at a funerary banquet in the Afterworld, but rather the living Any who is celebrating at a banquet after having been rewarded by the king.





371. S<sub>dm</sub>-š and rwd. For the former, see now E.S. Bogoslovsky, "Servants" of Pharaohs, Gods, and Private Persons (on the Social History of Egypt XVI-XIVth Century B.C. (Moscow: 1979, in Russian). For the latter, see Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I, 32\* A102 and idem. "Some Reflections on the Nauri Decree", JEA 38 (1952) 28.

372. I take <sup>2</sup>ir.tw as a perfective s<sub>dm</sub>.f with future reference,



see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar par. 450, 3, and ibid. par. 448 for the spelling. If <sup>3</sup>in is rendered as it normally is as the preposition introducing the agent "by", the resulting sentence, with its arbitrary mixture of the pronouns .k and .f, is quite awkward. Such awkwardness disappears if we understand in as a parenthetical phrase meaning "says", see Gardiner, op. cit. 433 and pars. 436-437.

373. This rendering of wd<sup>3</sup>i is a bit free, but the sense is clear enough.
374. Literally: "the mountain (dw) of Akhetaton" which can hardly be anything other than the cliffside where the tombs of the Amarna nobles were located.
375. There is just enough room in the lacuna at the bottom of the line to restore m st. This is virtually assured by the following nh<sub>h</sub> at the beginning of the next line, for while st m3't is the more usual term for a cemetery, what else could the st nh<sub>h</sub> have been?
376. I cannot explain this spelling of k3 with the prothetic reed-leaf.
377. What is preserved is ink(?) m dd.k(?) followed by the titles of Meryre', sdm-š and rwd, written corruptly with the foreleg rather than the bowstring, n sš nswt. I have no suggestion for the corrupt portion preceding the titles.
378. For this anticipatory use of m3'-hrw, see above, n. 297, and the references cited there.
379. See Davies, op. cit. pl. 9.
380. Compare the hieroglyph  (Gardiner, op. cit. Signlist A 26) which is used as the determinative in such words as nīs "summon", "call", dwī "call", or the vocative interjection ī "O".

381. Although only the foot and lower part of the jar are preserved, it can hardly be anything else.
382. See Sandman-Holmberg, Texts from the Time of Akhenaton 41-42.
383. The parallels in the tomb of Huya, *ibid.* 41, have n ddw nswt for which there is just enough room in the lacuna here, with space for the preposition n at the beginning of the next line.
384. There is a lacuna approximately three-quarters of a square high at the beginning of the line, the upper part of which undoubtedly contained the preposition n, if it was written with the water zigzag. However, if the preposition was written with the Red Crown, this would have filled the entire lacuna. Beneath this is a clearly written <sup>3</sup>imy-r below which, at the left, are three tiny, unevenly spaced, vertical strokes. In view of Any's title "steward", attested on five of the six stelae (nrs. 22, 25, 26, Cairo CG 34.179 and Cairo CG 34.181) as well as elsewhere in the tomb, the restoration which immediately comes to mind is that of the same title. It must be admitted, however, that pr  does not really fit the preserved traces. They do suit the writing  which could easily have come from a confusion of the hieratic writings of  and .
385. In his drawing, Davies, *loc. cit.* shows, with a question mark, what may have been a horizontal sign, curving downward at the left and thickened with a perceptible blob at its right end. Sandman-Holmberg's handcopy here, *loc. cit.* does not include these traces. If my restoration of the preceding title as "steward" (see preceding note) is correct and since

Any was the steward of the temple-estate of Amūnhotpe II (n pr '3-ḥprw-r', see Davies, loc. cit. pl. 20), it is not impossible that this questionable, slightly-curved, horizontal sign was the poorly-rendered curved top of a cartouche. This obviously would have contained the prenomen of Amūnhotpe II which is also present in the scene as part of the text identifying Any:

"The scribe of the king, the one whom [his] lord loves, [the scribe of the offering table of] the Aton, the scribe of the altar, he who s[upplies (restore hn)] nourishment for the lord of the Two Lands in Akhetaton, [the steward of the temple-estate] of 'Aakheprure', granted life, Any, who shall be justified ---- in peace".

With the exception of hn, which is based on the preserved traces, all of the other restorations here were made on the basis of Any's titles recorded by Davies, loc. cit. 7. Although <sup>3</sup>imy-r 'pr' ['3-ḥprw-r']? seems to have been written instead of <sup>3</sup>imy-pr n pr '3-ḥprw-r', the omission of n pr need not trouble us greatly. The title and its specifications could be expressed by a direct genitive. If this had been the case, the artist who painted this text could easily have made an error here.

386. I have no suggestions whatsoever for the few traces which are recognizable here. The parallels are of no help.
387. Although nb is incorrectly written with the k-basket, it is nevertheless certain from the parallels, see Sandman-Holmberg, loc. cit.
388. Rwd, though garbled, is certain from the parallels. I have

no suggestions for the badly-preserved signs which follow at the beginning of the next line. The parallel texts have  $\dot{h}r$   $\dot{i}s.k$  "upon your tomb-chamber", but what is preserved in the first two squares of the break is the trace of a tall vertical sign at the left, beneath this what seem to be a  $k\bar{3}$ -arms and a stroke. Davies, loc. cit. 17, restored [in the abode], presumably having been influenced by the parallels.

389. It is most probable that the relative form of  $mri^2$  was written here, although I cannot explain the writing with the hoe, beneath which was a now-lost small sign and a stroke. Davies also recognized and translated this as a relative, but clearly had reservations about it: "which thou lovest(?)".
390. Following the translation of Davies, loc. cit. The parallel text in the tomb of Huya reads:  $\dot{n}is.tw \dot{d}3mw nb(w) \dot{h}pr.f$ . The Any text reads  $\dot{n}is$ , followed by a lacuna which is just big enough for the determinative. Beneath this are the traces of a bird's feet and tail and there is enough room for a t-loaf in front of its breast. This line then concludes with the walking legs for which I have no suggestions. The next line begins with  $\dot{d}3mw nb$ , beneath which is a lacuna approximately one square high, just enough room for plural strokes and the  $\dot{h}pr$ -beetle, the phonetic complement of which starts the following line. This is followed by the  $\dot{n}d$ -netting needle which makes no sense and is probably to be emended to  $.f$ .
391.  $M \dot{h}.t.k$  occurs in all of the parallel texts from the tomb of Huya. There is just enough room for it, if slightly squeezed together, in the lacuna.
392. Davies here recorded:  $wnn.k m s\bar{3} n$  illegible traces  $.tw$  [---]  $\dot{h}tp-\dot{d}i-nswt$ . This is certainly to be restored  $wnn.k m s\bar{3} n$

ʿirʿ.tw [n-f] htp-di-nswt.

393. I really do not know what this last phrase means. Davies translated it as I have, but questioned his translation. There is a lacuna at the beginning of the line which has enough room for the genetival n and immediately below this the pr-sign and stroke occupy the left half of the square, suggesting that some short, squat sign originally stood at the right. I have no suggestion as to what this might have been.
394. Davies, loc. cit. translated "and [water] from thy sluice(?)" but the lacuna is not big enough to restore the three water zigzags, the moreso since at its lower right side is a short vertical stroke which can only be the right hand element of the plural strokes. This is followed by m sb3 n, an almost imperceptible trace at the left of the beginning of the next line, and n-k. I must admit that I have no suggestions here. There are no parallels from the tomb of Huya.
395. See above, n. 365, for the reference.
396. See my "The Iconographic Theme: 'Opening of the Mouth' on Stelae", JARCE 21 (1984) 175-177.
397. See Davies, op. cit. 6-7.
398. See above, nn. 230-233.
399. The moreso since their tombs are not, to my knowlege, preserved.

### Chapter 3: Afterthoughts

It is not my intention to recapitulate here the various and immediate conclusions which have been arrived at in the preceding two chapters. These, I believe, are evident and need no further amplification. Nevertheless, a few additional remarks and afterthoughts may be in order.

Along with the scarab, the ushebty, the sarcophagus, and the statue, the stela is one of the most familiar objects which has survived from Ancient Egypt. However, only one of its types, the commemorative/historical royal is studied for and within its intrinsic context as an historical document. The others, the private stelae, particularly those votive and funerary types, which clearly constitute the vast majority of the monuments of this category, are studied for their artistic content, for their religious context, for the philological and onomastic information provided by their texts, when such are present, and, on occasion for the socio-economic data which can be gleaned from them. Only rarely are they studied as purely historical documents. Yet every object which is preserved from Pharaonic Egypt should be considered as and is, in fact, an historical document and should also be studied from this point of view. This is not to say that the traditional and conventional perspectives which are used to study private stelae should be discarded. Rather they should be approached with new questions and new perceptions as I have attempted to do with the stelae which were investigated in Chapters 1 and 2 and in two earlier studies.<sup>400</sup>

The main group of stelae examined in Chapter 2 clearly illustrate an actual event, the private, or rather, individual, personal public ceremony in which a faithful servant of the king was

rewarded with gold, particularly with gold šby.w-collars, and with its aftermath when the servant so-rewarded returned home from the ceremony, proudly wearing these very same collars. The importance of this event in the life and career of the individual recipients of the reward is underscored by its relatively frequent appearance in the narrative biographical scenes occupying the public portion of their tombs. Indeed, in the tomb of Any at Amarna, although the ceremony and its aftermath do not figure in the preserved decoration inside the tomb, stelae which illustrate various aspects of its immediate aftermath filled a series of niches cut in the rock passage immediately outside the tomb entrance. The representations of Any inside the tomb in what are conventionally described as funerary scenes likewise show him wearing these same collars. The very fact, however, that the collar is worn in such scenes in the tomb or in their analogues on stelae or even on statues would seem to confirm their importance and their significance to the individuals pictured with them. This, in turn, would seem to reiterate that when they appear, their very appearance recalls the ceremony at which they were awarded.

In Chapter 1, the scene which every stela examined shares in common is one picturing the king in the act of slaying an enemy or group of enemies in the presence of a god, a scene and motif usually interpreted as symbolizing the timeless triumph and invincible power of the royal persona.<sup>401</sup> Yet, while this is undoubtedly correct, I have attempted to show that this stereotyped, symbolic, conventional theme is nevertheless rooted in an actual event, the ritual execution of a captured enemy ruler during the ceremonial thanksgiving offered by the pharaoh to the god(s) at the conclusion of a successful military campaign. Certainly there

is reason to assume that the king's performance in such a ceremony would have been viewed by all those who were spectators to it,—for clearly this ritual slaughter was public, one part of a public spectacle—, as the most tangible demonstration of the awesome might and power of the king, concrete testimonial of his inevitable triumph over his foes and of his omnipotence in all matters. Inasmuch as any achievement of the king automatically became part of the royal myth and became integrated into the king's persona,<sup>402</sup> it is easy to see how this very real event could then be metamorphasized into a symbolic concept and how its depiction then entered the iconographic repertoire of the Egyptian artist as a conventional stereotype which visually conveyed this concept.

It is not only in the act of smiting an enemy that the king appears on private stelae. Often he is shown making some kind of offering to one or another of the gods<sup>403</sup> and on analogy with the real ceremony underlaying the smiting scene, I submit that in these cases as well, a specific event in time, the king's participation in some specific religious ceremony at which the instigators of the stelae in question were also present is likewise being commemorated. Although it is outside the parameters of the present study to attempt to determine exactly which religious rituals might have been involved, it might be pointed out that at least one, illustrated on stela Cairo JE 45548 and which pictures the king offering to several processional barks, those of Amūn, Mūt, and Khonsu,<sup>404</sup> must be connected with a ceremony inside the temple in either a so-called hall of barks, i.e. the depository within the temple where the processional barks were stored when not in use, or else in one of the chapels where these portable boat-shrines which contained a cult statue of the god were kept.



Such ceremonies are often depicted on the walls of the appropriate room of the temple where they took place.<sup>405</sup>

If such private stelae do, in fact, even though incidentally, commemorate a real ceremony in which the king participated, we may wonder if the scenes of those private stelae on which the king does not appear and which, after all, form the vast majority of the preserved corpus of these monuments (and not only from the New Kingdom), are likewise rooted in an actual event which took place at a point fixed in time? An examination of the stelae discussed in Chapter 2 suggests that this was the case, that incidents which had an especial meaning and significance for the owner or dedicator of the stelae, the two not necessarily being the same person, could and did figure in their scenes. This is demonstrated just as vividly by the group of stelae whose scenes picture the processional bark of a god delivering an oracle to the dedicator of the stela<sup>406</sup> or by those showing the funerary rite of Opening-of-the-Mouth being performed.<sup>407</sup> In each of these instances, there is no question but that an actual incident is being portrayed. This, in turn, suggests that those stelae scenes which show either the deceased alone or with members of his family making an offering to the gods, or those showing a member or members of his family making offerings to the deceased might also picture actual events rather than conventional stereotypes. In two of my recent studies on the Egyptian iconography of the Asiatic god Reshep, I attempted to show that the representations of the deity on New Kingdom stelae were not symbolic abstracts of the god himself, but rather, like the pictures of Ramesses-Montuemtowe on the Qantir stelae or those of the Sphinx on the Giza stelae, were concrete depictions of specific, individual cult statues of the

god.<sup>408</sup> There is no reason not to suppose, then, that on those monuments where the dedicator is pictured making an offering this was also the case, that what actually was being portrayed was an act of worship at a specific point of time in a specific temple or shrine. In short, the stela's owner was making offerings to the cult statue(s) of the divinity or divinities involved. Likewise, when it is the deceased to whom offerings are being made by various members of his family, we should understand that it was not so much his spirit, his ka in the Afterworld, which is being shown, but his tomb statue in the tomb during a funerary banquet. This latter, in fact, may have been the inspiration for that large group of stelae whose texts identify the deceased as an *3h ikr n R'* "a spirit who is effective for Re" and whose pictures show the deceased sitting, standing, or kneeling and holding a lotus.<sup>409</sup> These could very well have been depicting, not the deceased, but his tomb statue.

In each of these cases, however, it should not be assumed that, in addition to picturing real events in real locations at real points in time, such scenes did not also have a timeless symbolism, that they did not simultaneously convey the notion that the actual event, whatever it might have been and wherever it might have taken place, was continually and unendingly being repeated forever for the duration of Eternity. This, after all, is one of the basic motivations underlying virtually all Egyptian mortuary and monumental art: the infinite, timeless repetition of whatever was being pictured so that it lived, continued, and was repeated forever. Whether this desire for eternal repetition, everlasting continuation, or whether this symbolic interpretation was both the original and primary motivation for the appearance

of the scenes found on the private stelae of the New Kingdom and probably of the earlier periods of Ehyptian history as well, is a moot question, one which is only incidental to this study. It seems clear enough to me that such scenes did have a real context, did portray actual events, that they did have a historicity. With this understanding in mind, then they certainly provide us with a new and hitherto untapped source of historical documents, though it is true not so much for political history as for social and/or religious history.

Footnotes:

400. In both my "A Memphite Stela..." and my "The Iconographic Theme..." To the stelae which I have discussed in the first of these, add now stela Hannover 1935.200.442, published by Munro, "Untersuchungen zur altägyptischen Bildmetrik" 41 fig. 44.
401. See above, n. 8, for references.
402. See above, n. 129 and the literature cited there.
403. E.g. stelae Cairo JE 20395 (published by R. El-Sayed, "Stèles des particuliers relatives au culte rendu aux statues royales de la XVIIIe à la XXe Dynastie", BIFAO 79 (1979) pl. 46), Cairo 14/10/69/1 (published by Gaballa, "Some Nineteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Cairo Museum", *ibid.* 71 [1972] pl. 22), Boston 25.635 (published by D. Dunham, "Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston", JEA 21 [1935] pl. 17 nr. 2), *passim*.
404. See my "A Memphite Stela..." 98 n.39, 109 pl.2, and the references cited there
405. See D. Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches (Berlin: 1962) 34 n. 21b, A.R. David, Religious Ritual at Abydos (c. 1300) (Warminster: 1973) 80-81.
406. See my "A Memphite Stela..." 96 n. 34, 97 n. 36, and the references cited there.
407. For this particular aspect of the funeral ceremony, see E. Otto, Das ägyptische Mundöffnungsritual (Wiesbaden: 1960) and G. Goyon, Rituels funéraires de l'ancienne Égypte (Paris: 1972) 87-120.
408. See my "The Winged Reshep" 73 and my "Reshep Times Two" 164-

166. For the cult statues of Ramesses-Montuemtowe on the Qantir stelae and those from Giza which picture the Sphinx, see my "The Winged Reshep" 82 nn. 34-38.

409. For the  $3h \overset{3}{i}kr \ n \ R^f$  and the stelae picturing them, see now the impressive study of R. Demarée, The  $3h \overset{3}{i}kr \ n \ R^f$ -Stelae: On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt (Leiden: 1983) and, earlier, Bruyère, Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935): troisième partie (Cairo: 1939) 151-167: "Le culte du Khou Aker  $\text{𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏}$ ".

### Appendix

Four rock-cut stelae were deliberately omitted from my enumeration in Chapter 1: the stela set up at Kasr Ibrim in the reign of Seti I by the viceroy of Kush, Amenemope, a stela set up at Aswan in year 2, month 3 of Shomu, day 26 of Ramesses II, and two of the lesser stelae, nrs. 12 and 13, at Abu Simbel. Of these the Aswan stela could very well have been included in Chapter 1. It was excluded because of the length of its text, although it conforms perfectly with the other stelae of this chapter in every other respect. The two Abu Simbel stelae, save for the wretched remnants of their texts, have never been published. My own photographs of them are poor and reveal virtually nothing. The late Labib Habachi kindly looked at them for me, but with little better result:

"Nothing visible more than what can be seen in the upper register: Ramesses II smiting a prisoner with Amenre offering him the scimeter, and followed by a hawk-headed god, most probably Harakhti. Nothing shows if in the lower register was the representation of ... people".<sup>410</sup>

Consequently, since I have not really been able to study these two monuments and since I am unwilling to make any judgements about them on the basis of the extremely-sketchily published descriptions,<sup>411</sup> other than noting their existence below, they have been omitted from any further consideration. The stela which the viceroy Amenemope commissioned at Kasr Ibrim differs in two particulars from the other stelae which has the triumphal scene. Instead of being clubbed to death, the victim is being slain by a spearthrust, and the action, at first glance, appears to be taking place on the battlefield rather than inside a temple. The

presence of an empty chariot and its attendant horse-team next to the king would seem to imply that he had just dismounted from the vehicle in order to dispatch his enemy.<sup>412</sup> I will return to these apparent incongruities after I have described the stelae.

31. Rock-cut stela on the east bank of the Nile, not far upstream from the shrines of Kasr Ibrim. Bibliography: R.A. Caminos, The Shrines and Rock-Inscriptions of Ibrim (London: 1968) 83-90 and pls. 39-40, F. Hintze, "Die Felsenstele Sethos I bei Qasr Ibrim", ZAeS 87 (1962) 31-40 and pl. 3, KRI I, 98-99. For earlier publications, see Caminos, op. cit. 83 and PM VII, 94. (Fig. 33).

Only the lower part of the scene, framed by a vertical border line and set off from the text below by a thickish ground line, is preserved. At the extreme left a god stands on a rectangular pedestal.<sup>413</sup> His body from the waist down and a bit of his clenched left hand and the w3s-staff which it holds are still visible. There are neither traces nor room for his right hand to hang down straight at his side. It is probable that the missing arm, as Caminos observed, must have been extended to offer the king a sword.<sup>414</sup> As all that is preserved of the god's dress is his short kilt and the animal tail attached to the rear of his belt, his identity is in question. The sacrificial prisoner, a Nubian, kneels in front of the god. He has thick lips and wide, flaring nostrils. His dress includes a massive earring, a short bag-wig, a broad collar, a short kilt of stiffened material,<sup>415</sup> and the sporran worn by Nubians affixed to his belt in front.<sup>416</sup> His right knee rests on the ground line, its leg stretching backwards so that the foot projects in front of the god's pedestal. His right arm flails upwards wildly. His left hand clutches his

kneecap. The king vigorously strides forward towards towards him. With one hand and arm, neither of which are preserved, he stabs the struggling captive with a fatal thrust through the abdomen. Such is the violence of the deathblow that the speartip has completely passed through the victim's body and juts out of the small of his back. With his other arm the king grasps the Nubian's hair firmly to steady the body for the death thrust. The king wears the archaic-patterned kilt, a wide belt, and the lion's tail. His right foot covers and obscures the left foot of the prisoner. To the right an undulating line line slopes up diagonally from the ground over to the right border. On this the king's waiting chariot and its team of caparisoned horses stands. Of the two weapon cases attached to its side, that for the spears or javelins is empty. The wavy line certainly indicates the uneven flat desert terrain. Part of the chariot's wheel is covered by the king's left calf and the pawing forelegs of the horses project beyond the frame of the scene.

Underneath this violent tableau is a hieroglyphic text of twelve lines pertaining directly to it and three vertical lines which identify the a male figure in the lower left corner as the dedicator of the stela. Holding his symbols of office and elaborately dressed, he has around his neck a thick, bulging, choker-like necklace around his neck, undoubtedly a šby.w-collar.<sup>417</sup> The main text reads:<sup>418</sup>

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull who appears in Thebes, who causes the Two Lands to live, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies, who repeats births, powerful of sword, who repels the Nine Bows, the Horus of Gold who repeats appearances, rich of bows in all lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egy-



pt, Menmare'-Tut're', the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah,  
 granted life forever and ever, the good god who smites  
 the Nine Bows, rich of heart, who overthrows his enemies,<sup>419</sup>  
 who slaughters Kush, who tramples down the Tnw-folk,<sup>420</sup>  
 who carries off their chiefs<sup>421</sup> as prisoners, the Horus,  
 the Mighty Bull, firm of heart like the Son of Nūt, the  
 valiant king who makes his border at any place he desires,  
he<sup>422</sup> spends the seasons of ploughing in Tomery and the  
 seasons of his harvests<sup>423</sup> among the knw-folk,<sup>424</sup> dest-  
 roying their farms,<sup>425</sup> hacking up<sup>426</sup> their cities. His  
 horses are sated with grain and his soldiers are intoxi-  
 cated with wine through the victories of his sword. To  
 him come the foreigners of the South, bowing down, and  
 the Northerners, making obeisance to his power. That  
 which Re' the Father encompasses is beneath his counsel  
 and they obey, their hearts like one, without their being  
 rebellious.<sup>427</sup> They tag after his feet like hounds do,<sup>428</sup>  
 in quest of his giving<sup>429</sup> the breath of life to them.  
 O victorious king who protects Egypt, who tramples down  
 the hillmen, who repels the flatlands in their places,<sup>430</sup>  
 the rulers of their foreign lands who did not acknowledge  
 Egypt, who were rebellious against his majesty (l.p.h.),<sup>431</sup>  
your valiant strength has carried them off,<sup>432</sup> your power  
 has trampled them down, the dread of you has encircled<sup>433</sup>  
their lands, and your plans have baffled them, O goodly  
 ruler who slays his enemies,<sup>434</sup> who has destroyed<sup>435</sup>  
 the land of the Nehesi with his sword, whose southern  
 frontier (reaches) as far as the wind (does), while the  
 northern one penetrates to the end of the Great Green

Sea,<sup>436</sup> the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menmare'-Tuttre', the Son of Re', Seti-merneptah, the Beloved of Amūnre' king of the gods, granted life forever and ever".

This text, of course, is not a descriptive narrative to the scene above, but is rather a speech, a panygeric addressed to the king by the viceroy Amenemope. The three vertical lines of text which precede and identify him contain an additional speech:

"The king's son of Kush, Amenemope, he says: 'Your Father, Amūnre', protects<sup>437</sup> (you) with all life, stability, and good fortune. He gives<sup>438</sup> to you the South like the North. All countries bow down to your power. All lands are united beneath your sandals'."<sup>439</sup>

32. Rock-cut stela dated to regnal year 2 of Ramesses II at Aswan. Bibliography: De Morgan, Catalogue des monuments I, 6; LD III, pl. 175g; KRI II, 344-345. For additional bibliography, see PM V, 245 (Fig. 34).

The text of this stela has been published on several occasions, but its scene has been reproduced only in the line drawing of De Morgan. The curve of the stela's top is formed by the winged sundisk. The tableau beneath this is comprised of two similar scenes. In the center, facing outward, are respectively Khnūm and Amūn, each offering a sword with his right hand to the king. Khnūm holds a w3s-staff in his left hand, Amūn an 'nh. In front of and over the head of each is a speech. That of Amūn reads: "Words spoken by Amūn: 'I have given your sword to you'". The speech of Khnūm reads: "Words spoken by Khnūm, lord of Samut:<sup>440</sup> '[I have given to]<sup>441</sup> you every [---]'. In front of each god the figure of the "lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn, granted life like Re'<sup>442</sup> slays a pros-

trate enemy. Each figure of the king, wearing the Double Crown, wields the maceaxe with his left hand and holds a bow in the same hand with which he grasps the hair of the foe whom he is about to kill. The victim in the right hand scene kneels on both knees toward Khnūm, but has swivelled his torso toward the king to whom he raises both hands in a futile gesture of supplication. The prisoner being slain before Amūn kneels on one knee toward the god, but has also turned his upper body to the king, raising both hands to him to beg for mercy. This captive wears a capoteliike upper garment, a tight-fitting skullcap(?) and an ankle-length kilt. The other has a hairdo reaching down to his shoulder and likewise wears a sleeved upper garment. Unfortunately De Morgan's drawing does not allow any real conclusions to be made about the ethnicity of the victims. Behind the upraised arm of each Ramesses is the statement: "trampling the chiefs of the land of Nubia",<sup>443</sup> from which we may assume that the victims are Nubians representing two different tribes or regions.<sup>444</sup> Underneath and separated from the double scene is a hieroglyphic text of eleven horizontal lines. The text reads as follows:

"Year 2, month 3 of Shomu, day 26, under the majesty of the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies who protects Egypt, who captures the foreign lands, the Horus of Gold, rich of years, great of victory, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the ruler of the Nine Bows who overthrows the rebellious ones, the lord of the sword, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', of his body, his beloved, the lord of Diadems, Ramesses-mi'amūn, the Beloved of Amūnre' the king of the gods, and of Khnūm the lord of Samut.

"Long live the good god, the Montu of millions, the one strong like the Son of Nūt, the fighter on the battle-field, the lion, powerful of heart,<sup>445</sup> he has overthrown hundreds of thousands in the completion of an instant, the great wall of his army on the day of battle, the fear of whom has penetrated all lands.<sup>446</sup> Tomeri (i.e. Egypt) rejoices when the ruler is in it, for he has extended its borders forever. The Asiatics are destroyed and their towns are looted.<sup>447</sup> He has trampled down the foreigners of the North, the Tjemehu are overthrown on account of [their] fear of him, and the Asiatics are desirous of the breath (of life) from him,<sup>448</sup> the one who, by means of his campaigns, causes that Egypt lives,<sup>449</sup> that their hearts are filled with his plans, that they sit (peacefully) because of the shadow of his sword, and that they do not fear any foreign land.<sup>450</sup> He has destroyed the<sup>451</sup> fighting men of the Great Green Sea, the great water of the Northland.<sup>452</sup> While they lay asleep, the king is wakeful. Precise of counsel, not a thing which he says fails,<sup>453</sup> and the foreigners come to him carrying their children in order to beg the breath of life from him. His battlecry is powerful throughout the land of Nubia, his strength drives back the Nine Bows. Babylon, Hatti, and Yey[---]<sup>454</sup> bow down to his power, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the lord of the Two Lands, Wosimare'-setepenre', the Son of Re', of his body, the lord of the sword, Ramesses-mi'amūn, [the beloved of] Amūnre', Khnūm, Satis, and 'Anuket".

Beneath this long text is an additional set of scenes and texts,

of which those on the left are virtually completely destroyed,<sup>455</sup> but which undoubtedly duplicated those on the right.<sup>456</sup> At the extreme right a man, wearing a shoulder-length wig and an ankle-length kilt, kneels and raises both hands in the gesture of adoration. In front of him are six vertical lines of text which is continued in two additional short vertical groups over his arms and in front of his face. A third group is in the field behind his head. This inscription reads as follows:

"Giving praise to the lion, the lord of [---],<sup>457</sup> kissing the ground to the lord of the Two Lands, that he may give [-----]<sup>458</sup> the prophet of the Primeval God,<sup>459</sup> his beloved, [-----]<sup>460</sup> his majesty upon all his victories [-----]<sup>461</sup> every [-----], the overseer of the fortress(?)<sup>462</sup> [-----]."<sup>463</sup>

33a-b. Rock-cut stelae nrs. 12 and 13, at Abu Simbel, south of the great temple of Ramesses II. Bibliography: KRI II, 771-772, PM VII, 118. (Not illustrated).

The scenes of this pair of stelae have not been published and their texts are mostly lost. The description given in PM simply notes "the King smites captives before Amūn". That given by Kitchen for nr. 13 expands this slightly: "king strikes foe with mace before Amun and Horus", while that sent to me by Habachi<sup>464</sup> adds the fact that Amūn is offering the king a sword. The preserved portion of the text of nr. 12 contains the nomen, prenomen, and two epithets of Ramesses II,<sup>465</sup> and that of nr. 13 but little more:

"Long live the Horus, the Mighty Bull, the Beloved of Ma'at, the Embodiment of the Two Ladies, [--- --- ---  
----] lands, the Horus of Gold, rich of years, great of victories, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the

lord of the Two Lands, Wosi(ma)re'-(setepenre', the Son of Re'), Ra(messes-mi')amūn [-----]. The good god, the Son of Amūn, great [-----] who slaughters the chiefs and the [great one]<sup>s466</sup> of every [foreign land --- --- ---] heaven [-----]".

While it is probable that these two stelae are to be considered as privately-commissioned monuments, as are the other rock-cut stelae at Abu Simbel, there is no way of determining who commissioned them, under what circumstances they were commissioned, or what, specifically, they may commemorate. Consequently, other than having noted their existence here, they have been excluded from consideration in my discussion and analysis of the stelae surveyed in Chapter 1. This is not the case, however, with stelae nrs. 31 and 32. The former has been dealt with here, rather than in Chapter 1, mainly because its scene differs from the usual iconography of the death of the enemy. Here the action seems to be taking place on the battlefield rather than in the temple courtyard and the prisoner is being slain with a spearthrust rather than being clubbed to death. However, it is difficult to disassociate the Kasr Ibrim rock-stela from the other rock-stelae commissioned by the viceroy Amenemope at Aswan.<sup>467</sup> These almost certainly commemorated the victorious conclusion of a campaign of Seti I in Nubia, probably in his year 8.<sup>468</sup> Now, since the death of the captive is taking place in front of the statue of the god, who is also simultaneously offering the sword to the king, it is not unlikely that we have here a conflation of several scenes which include the victory on the battlefield and the subsequent sacrifice of the captured chief in the temple.<sup>469</sup> It has been suggested that the motivation for Amenemope's commissioning this and the Aswan

texts was, simultaneously, to commemorate the victory, his participation in it, and his installation as viceroy. Since, in the Kasr Ibrim scene, he seems to be wearing the gold šby.w-collars, it is, in the light of Chapter 2, tempting to further assume that they possibly were awarded to him because of some deed of valour of his in the course of the war and that he was also, albeit indirectly, commemorating the award as well, but this can only be pure speculation.


Although the Aswan inscription is dated to a specific point in time in the reign of Ramesses II, it should not, as it usually is, be reckoned as a royal inscription,<sup>470</sup> nor should it be assumed that it was the king himself who was responsible for it. In spite of its beginning with a date and the king's titulary, the text is not a narrative. It is a panygeric addressed to the king, although unlike that contained in the Kasr Ibrim stela, he is not addressed in the second person. Moreover, this text is probably not to be disassociated from that of the dedicatory pictured beneath it. Although broken and somewhat incomprehensible, it continues to describe the exploits of the king. Insofar as it seems to correspond completely in its iconographic and schematic details with the stelae studied in Chapter 1, like them it should be scrutinized for whatever historical implications it may possess. Its pictorial element implies that the victory which it commemorates was over Nubians, but the text claims victory over Libyans, Asiatics,<sup>471</sup> "the fighting men of the Great Green Sea", i.e. a Sea People, and even Hatti and Babylon are represented as making overtures of submission. But these triumphs, or rather claimed triumphs in year 2 can hardly be reconciled with the dated wars of Ramesses II. His major confrontation

with the Hittites at Kadesh took place in regnal year 5, three years after the date of the Aswan stela. His inscription of year 4 at the Nahr el-Kelb near Beirut, two years after the Aswan text's date suggests that his campaigning in Syria-Palestine did not take place much before then,<sup>472</sup> and I have attempted, elsewhere, to show that most of his undated Asiatic wars, if not all of them, probably took place between years 10 and 18.<sup>473</sup> Only the war against the Sherden (= "the fighting men of the Great Green Sea") and possibly a Libyan war take place in year 2. While there are a number of references to military activity on the part of Ramesses in Nubia, none of these, other than that implied by the scene of the Aswan stela can be associated with a specific date<sup>475</sup> and, as has been suggested above, it is not unlikely that this war was the same as that which, though without any date, is depicted on the walls of the Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses which actually took place during the period when he was coregent with his father.<sup>476</sup> If this is correct, then the other triumphs alluded to in the Aswan inscription, over the Libyans, the Asiatics, the Sherden, even the submissive gestures of the Hittites and the Babylonians, could very well refer to the foreign wars of Seti I in which Ramesses II could have participated as a prince royal, crown prince, or coregent.<sup>477</sup>



Footnotes:

410. Personal communication from Cairo, dated 24 August 1981.
411. See below, stelae nrs. 33a-b.
412. For similar scenes where the king has dismounted from his chariot to fight on foot, see, e.g. Wreszinski, Atlas II, pls. 34, 116, 140, 146, and 154.
413. Caminos, op. cit. 84, calls this a "short platform" which would mean that the god was standing on a raised flooring or stage. This, in turn, suggests that it was the god, himself, incarnate, who stood there. A pedestal, on the other hand, indicates that it was a statue of the god before whom the prisoner was being killed. This would be highly improbable if the action was taking place on the battlefield, for there is no evidence that the Egyptians carried divine statues into battle. It is not impossible that there is a conflation of two scenes and two ideas here: victory on the battlefield, followed immediately by the ceremonial execution of the captive enemy chief in the nearest temple.
414. Loc. cit. n. 7.
415. Ibid.
416. On this particular item of dress, see H.G. Fischer, "The Nubian Mercenaries of Gebelein", Kush 9 (1956) 56.
417. Although the internal detail of the individual biconical gold beads has not been indicated, the bulge of the collar above the line of Amenemope's shoulder can hardly be anything else but the curved profile of the last visible bead, see above, Chapter 2, Section A, nn. 226-228.
418. Essentially I have followed the translation of Caminos, op. cit. 85-86, though with some slight modifications. These are indicated in the following notes.

419. For rkw "rebel", "enemy", see Wb. II, 456, 13-20.
420. Caminos, op. cit. 86, the comment to line 3, takes Tnw as an otherwise unattested ethnogeographic designation. It must be admitted, however, that the possibility of its being a corrupt writing for Rtnw "Retjenu", i.e. the Syro-Palestinian area, is a tempting one, see Caminos, loc. cit. for references. If so, then Kush, mentioned in the preceding line is balanced by Rtnw here. However, a spelling of Rtnw with the foreign people determinative, rather than that of the foreign land is not recognized by Wb. II, 460, 10-15. On the other hand, see Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 141, where a writing  is noted.
421. For the unusual spelling of wr.w with the man smiting with a stick rather than the man holding a staff, see Caminos, loc. cit. n. 5.
422. Emphasis supplied. The antecedent of "he" is, of course, Horus in line 1, followed by the long stream of qualifying praises and then resumed by .f of ʿirr.f.
423. Following Caminos, op. cit. 87 n. 4.
424. Again I have followed Caminos, ibid. 88, the comment to line 5, and rendered this as an otherwise unattested ethnogeographic designation. Again, the suggestion that this is also a faulty transcription of Rtnw (above, n. 420) is tempting, the moreso since these people seem to have both farms and towns. While the Nubians undoubtedly engaged in farming, to my knowledge, there is no evidence that they possessed urban centers large enough or sophisticated enough to warrant their being called by the Egyptian term niwt "city". On this point, see my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton" nn. 66 and 123.

425. Caminos, op. cit. 88, renders *mnw* as "plantations", but under the influence of the term as used in the Antebellum South the nuance which "plantation" conveys to me is somewhat distorted. Consequently I have opted for the more neutral "farms".
426. For some graphic illustrations of *ḥb3* "to hack up" which led to its use as a technical term to describe attacks against walled areas, cities, see my "Siege Warfare in Pharaonic Egypt", Natural History 78 (March 1964) 13-14.
427. I prefer to understand *bš̄t* as either a noun or an infinitive and take *nn bš̄t.sn* "their rebellion/rebelling does not exist" as a virtual relative clause parallel to and complementing the preceding *ib.sn mī wʿ* "their hearts like one". Caminos, loc. cit. prefers to see *nn bš̄t.sn* as a gnomic statement "and (they) will not rebel".
428. Caminos' picture of hounds crawling behind their master, loc. cit. 85, is illchosen because neither hounds nor any other canines crawl. They do run alongside of or tag behind their masters. *Hnhn*, *Wb.* III, 384, 8-13, which is even attested with a canine determinative, means "to follow after", "to accompany" which quite suits the translation I have proposed.
429. For this more literal rendering of *sb.tw rdīṯ.f*, see Caminos, *ibid.* 89.
430. Compare Caminos, loc. cit.
431. I interpret everything after "O victorious king" at the end of line 8 and the beginning of line 9 until "in their place" in the middle of line 9 as a series of specifications which qualify "O victorious kings", all of them antecedents in

anticipatory apposition to the subject of the next four sentences: "your ... strength", "your power", "your dread", "your plans".

432. Likewise, I have taken everything following "rulers" in the middle of line 9 until "(l.p.h.)" near the beginning of line 10 in the same way, only here "rulers" and the qualifying specifications are the antecedents to the objects of the verbs in these sentences: "them", "them", "their lands", and "them".
433. For the spelling of phr, see the comments of Caminos, loc. cit.
434. See Caminos, *ibid.* the comment to line 11.
435. Caminos, *ibid.* translates sk.n.k as written "you have destroyed" and then emends the suffix .f of hpš.f to .k in order to be consistent with sk.n.k. Hintze, *op. cit.* 39, however, preferred to see sk as a participle, emending n to the strong arm determinative, with the k-basket as the phonetic complement. Since an emendation seems necessary either way, I prefer that of Hintze, and take sk t3 Nhs<sup>2</sup>iw as a participial phrase parallel to the preceding 3b km(3)tyw.f.
436. To translate w3d wr as "ocean" is almost pleonastic. Those bodies of water which we today describe as "oceans" were probably beyond the ken of the Ramesside Egyptians. The "Great Green Sea" here was undoubtedly the Mediterranean.
437. Caminos, *op. cit.* 90, translates hw it.k as a wish "May your Father protect", but there is no reason not to understand it as an affirmative sentence.
438. Since dī.f is a sdm.f and not a sdm.n.f, to translate by the Present tense seems preferable.

439. See Caminos, loc. cit.
440. According to Gauthier, Dictionnaire V, 32, a locality in Upper Egypt, possibly the island of Bigeh. Breasted, ARE III, 205 par. 479, translated, simply, "the cataract region".
441. Following the restoration of Kitchen, op. cit. 344.
442.  $\text{Mi } R^{\text{'}}$  only in the text of the right hand scene.
443. In each instance this phrase is preceded by another. That of the left hand scene reads:  $\text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}}$ , that of the right hand scene  $\text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}}$ . These were undoubtedly epithets describing the king, in the light of which it is probably better to translate  $\text{ptpt}$  as a participle: "the one who tramples".
444. On this point see my "The Nubian War of Akhenaton" nn.78-80.
445. The text has  $\text{m}^{\text{'}}\text{3i } \text{sh}^{\text{'}}\text{m}^{\text{'}}\text{-ib}$ . Breasted's rendering, loc. cit. as "strong-hearted lion" presumes that  $\text{sh}^{\text{'}}\text{m}^{\text{'}}\text{-ib}$  is used adjectivally here. While this, of course, is possible, it is equally possible to take it as an independent epithet.
446. Literally: "his fear has penetrated" (or: "penetrates", the verb is a  $\text{sdm.f}$  with noun subject).
447. By "Asiatics" ( $\text{Stiyw}$ ) presumably are meant the inhabitants of Syria-Palestine.
448. The text has  $\text{t}^{\text{'}}\text{3w.f}$ , literally: "his breath", which can only refer to  $\text{t}^{\text{'}}\text{3w n 'nh}$  "the breath of life".
449. Written  $\Delta \text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}} \text{S}^{\text{'}}$  where the seated god (seated king according to Lepsius, loc. cit.) is surely not to be taken as the 1st person singular suffix pronoun  $\text{'i}$ , but as the determinative of the participle  $\text{diw}$ . For the instrumental use of the preposition  $\text{m}$ , see Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar par. 162, 7. Breasted, loc. cit. apparently did not fully understand this portion of the text which he translated "who sends Egypt on



campaigns".

450. Bn snḏ.sn n ḥ3s.t nb.t "literally: "Their fear does not exist (or: They do not fear) on account of any foreign land". ḥ3s.t, in spite of the plural strokes, should be understood as a singular.

451. For the writing of n3 just with n, see Erman, Neuägyptische Grammatik par. 174.

452. Š '3, literally "Great Lake", "Great Pool", here certainly the Mediterranean.

453. Literally: "There does not fail that which he has said, everything".









454. Only the beginning of this toponym is preserved, thus: . Kitchen, loc. cit. would restore: . Breasted, loc. cit. note d, suggested: "probably Arvad or Isy-Cyprus".

455. Only the first two words of the text are preserved: "Giving praise [-----]".

456. These were recorded only by De Morgan, loc. cit. His copy was repeated by Kitchen, op. cit. 345, without, however, being collated either with the original or with a photograph of the original.

457. Restore ḥ'w "Diadems", ḥpš "the sword", or the like if the lacuna was, as Kitchen, loc. cit. implies, only a single square. However, it is not certain that only a single square was lost. Where such vertical columns of text are accompanied by the kneeling figure of the speaker, those columns of text farthest from the figure usually fill the full height of the register, growing shorter only when they have to accommodate the figure. De Morgan's drawing shows no cross-hatching indicative of lacunae at the bottoms of any of these

lines, but De Morgan was not the most accurate of copyists, and certainly there were such lacunae. That following the preserved nb, assuming that the text continued down to the ground line, was a little more than two and one half squares high.

458. Kitchen, op. cit. 345 n. 9d, "Loss (if any) unknown" is misleading. The lacuna following di.f (see preceding note) is almost two squares high.
459. Written:  , where the stroke is certainly to be restored hm-ntr. Since this is a title, we would expect it to have been followed by either a personal name or a specification. Mri.f "his beloved" which follows the group  suggests the latter. The group is either understood as a garbled writing of tpy or of p3w.ty, Wb. I, 496, 14, "the one belonging to the primeval time", "the primeval god". I prefer the latter, but it is not found with this spelling.
460. I have no suggestions for this line which reads  and which ends in a lacuna a little more than one square high.
461. After "all his victories" there is a lacuna about one square + high. The text immediately following, and which ends in a similar lacuna, is completely unintelligible to me. It seems to read:     .
462. Following the emendation of Kitchen, loc. cit. n. 10b, that the group before the man's face is to be read imy-r htm.
463. From its position in De Morgan's drawing, where the topmost sign preserved is on a level below the crown of the adorant's head, we may assume that something originally stood above the group, certainly part of a title, and that the man's

name is also lost.

464. Above and behind the king's head is: "Wosi[ma]re'-(Setep)en-[re'] Ra[messes]-mi'amūn, granted life, the Horus, Powerful-of-arm, the Lord of the sword". All that is legible of the main text is the beginning of the second line: "the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ra[messes-mi'amūn -----]".
465. See above, n. 410.
466. Following the restoration of Kitchen, op. cit. 772.
467. See above, n. 143.
468. Ibid. and also n. 160, above.
469. See above, n. 413.
470. E.g. Kitchen has included it in vol. II of KRI: Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions, rather than KRI III: Ramesses II, his Contemporaries. Breasted, loc. cit. has included it among the royal inscriptions, as does J. Schmidt, Ramesses II: A Chronological Structure for His Reign (Baltimore: 1973) 25, where he wishes to redate it to year 10.
471. I.e. Syro-Palestinians.
472. For the Hittite war, see Faulkner, "Egypt from the Inception of the Nineteenth Dynasty..." 221.
473. See above, n. 141, for references.
474. For the Sherden war of year 2, see J.Yoyotte, "Les stèles de Ramses II á Tanis. Ier partie ", Kemi 10 (1949) 60-74. For the possibility of a Libyan war in the same year, see Faulkner, op. cit. 230, nn. 4-5.
475. For the Nubian wars of Ramesses II, see Faulkner, ibid.
476. See above, n. 143.
477. For the most recent study of Seti I's foreign wars, see now W.J. Murnane, The Road to Kadesh. Slightly earlier, but still



of the greatest importance is the trenchant study of Spalinger, "The Northern Wars of Seti I: An Integrative Study", JARCE 16 (1979) 29-47. See also Faulkner, op. cit. 218-224 and idem. "The Wars of Sethos I", JEA 33 (1947) 34-39.

### Addenda

For some inexplicable reasons, the material contained in the two addenda which follow was omitted from the main text.

1. The following rock-cut stela should be listed and described in the Appendix immediately after stela nr. 31. Although it has the catalogue number 31a, it should be noted that its footnotes start with number 478.

31a. Rock-cut stela, west side of the ancient road between Aswan and Philae. Bibliography: De Morgan, loc. cit. nr. 123; Habachi, loc. cit. 26; ERI I, 302; for other publications see PM V, 247. (Fig. 35).

The king, wearing the Blue Crown, has dismounted from his chariot. In the hand with which he grasps a kneeling enemy by the hair he also holds what is probably a bow.<sup>478</sup> His other hand, hanging at his side, has thrust a shafted weapon into the body of the foeman.<sup>479</sup> A groom steadies the prancing chariot-horse. Behind the captive, another elaborately dressed man kneels with both hands raised in salutation to the king who is identified by a pair of vertical cartouches as "the good god, Menmare<sup>c</sup>, the Son of Ke<sup>c</sup>, Seti-merneptah". The kneeling adorant is named in a caption of four vertical lines. These also contain a brief invocation to the king:

"Giving praises to your ka, O victorious king, O Horus  
who causes the Two Lands to live!<sup>480</sup> Made by the first  
charioteer of his majesty, the king's son, Amenemope,  
the son of the king's son, (Pa)ser".

One last point to be noted here is the nationality of the sacrificial victim. Although, like all the other rock-cut stelae commissioned by Amenemope at Aswan (see above, stelae nrs. 15-17) no internal details of any of the figures are indicated in the

various publications, the outline of the captive's hairdo, his short, pointed beard, and his seemingly-sleeved garment not only argue against his having been a Nubian (as he is on the other three rock stelae of Amenemope at Aswan as well as that at Kasr Ibrim), but rather suggest that he was a Libyan.<sup>481</sup> Virtually every scholar who has dealt with these particular stelae have taken them as referring to the same event.<sup>482</sup> If this is correct and if the identification just given for the nationality of the victim of Aswan rock inscription nr. 123 is also correct, then it would appear that there is a contradiction here. This, however, is probably not the case or, if it is, it can be easily resolved. We might start by noting that, in strictu sensu, the tableau of Aswan nr. 123 does not actually show the king smiting the enemy, though, as was the case on the Kasr Ibrim monument, there can be no doubt that is about to, or has transfixed his prisoner with the spear which he holds. Like the Kasr Ibrim scene, the action here also seems to be taking place on the battlefield, with the king having just dismounted from his chariot. The Nubian war and victory which the other rock stelae commemorate seems to have taken place in Seti's regnal year 8?<sup>483</sup> On the Kasr Ibrim stela, however, the text of which is much, much, longer than those of the other monuments, it would appear that, unless it is mere rhetorical hyperbole, Seti is claiming victories in the North against various foes, and while Libyans are not explicitly named here, it is clear from his Karnak battle scenes that he fought a war against the Libyans.<sup>484</sup> If such a victory had been won, there is no reason why it could not have been depicted in a rock stela on the Nubian marches, the more so since there is good evidence that captives were transported from one part of Egypt's empire to another where they were executed and their corpses put on public

display.<sup>485</sup>

Footnotes:

478. The apparent curve of the lower edge of what seems to be a knife is actually a lock of the victim's hair which splays out from the king's fist. When this is removed from consideration as part of a weapon, what is left can only be a bow, compare Figs. 1, 3, 8, 10, 12, 18, and 34.
479. I take this to be a thrusting weapon such as the king also wields in the Kasr Ibrim scene (see Fig. 33). Not only does the weapon lack any visible head which might identify it as a smiting weapon, a mace, maceaxe, or the like, its "business end" seems clearly to be buried in the prisoner, even though the attitude of the king as he stabs with it is rather serene and lacks the violent agitation inherent in the action of ~~smiting or stabbing so clearly portrayed~~ on the Kasr Ibrim stela. The analogy with the latter scene, save for this detail of the king's pose, is otherwise unchallengable. The two scenes are in exact harmony, for the fact that no god is shown here is of no consequence, as is clear from stela nr. 6.
480. Following the restoration of Kitchen, loc. cit.
481. For this Libyan hairdo, beard, and dress, see Bates, op. cit. figs. 10, 12, 23, 35, 48, and pls. 1-3; Pritchard, ANEP figs. 1-2, 7-8, and compare stela nr. 7.
482. See above for references. Interestingly enough, no one seems to have commented on the Libyan ethnicity of the victim of Aswan nr. 123.
483. See above, n. 160.
484. See the Epigraphic Survey, The Battle Reliefs of King Sety I, 87-107 and pls. 27-32.
485. See above, nn. 121-123.

2. The following works which have been cited in the footnotes should also be included in the Bibliography:

Bates, O. The Eastern Libyans (London: 1914).

Bogoslovsky, E.S. "Servants" of Pharaohs, Gods, and Private Persons (on the Social History of Egypt XVI-XIVth Century B.C. (Moscow: 1979, in Russian).

Murnane, W.J. The Road to Kadesh: A Historical Interpretation of the Battle Reliefs of King Sety I at Karnak (Chicago: 1985).

3. On page 66 the last sentence of footnote 14 should be changed to read: The Munich PhD dissertation of S. Schoske, Die Siegreiche König. Bildquellen zur altägyptischen Feindsymbolik will be published, I believe by Harrasowitz in Wiesbaden. It should be entered in the appropriate section of the Bibliography.

4. On page 137 the Bibliography of Catalogue nr. 29 should be now expanded to include:

Scott, G.D. Ancient Egyptian Art at Yale (New Haven: 1986)  
126-127, 201.

Likewise the General Bibliography should be altered to include it.



Fig. 1 Stela Brussels E 4499

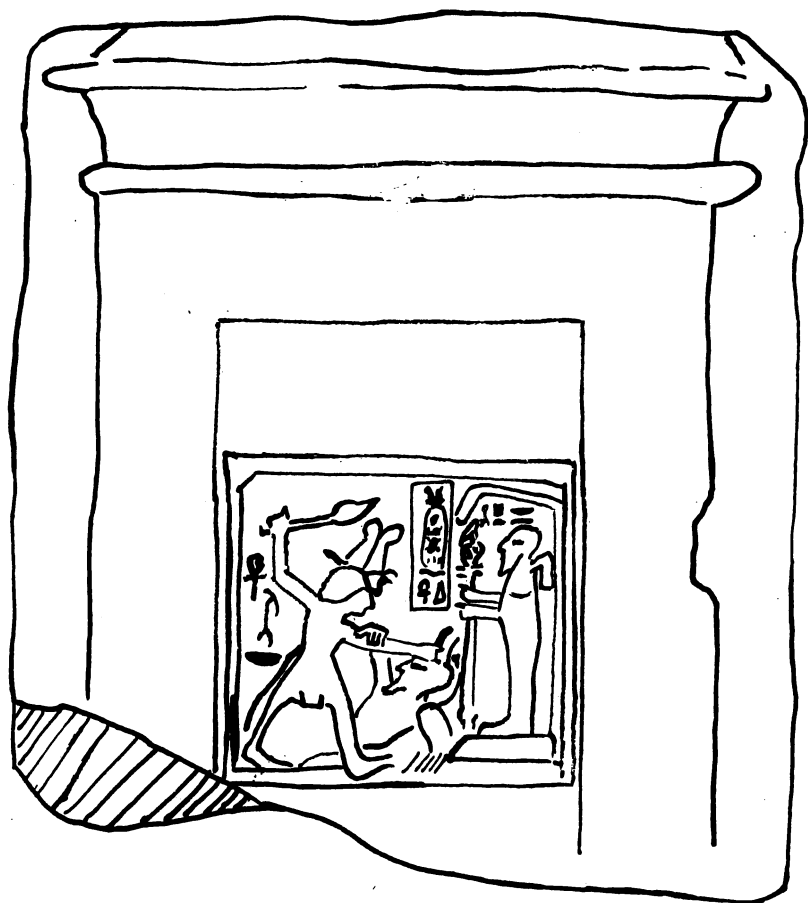


Fig. 2 Stela *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, nr. 12

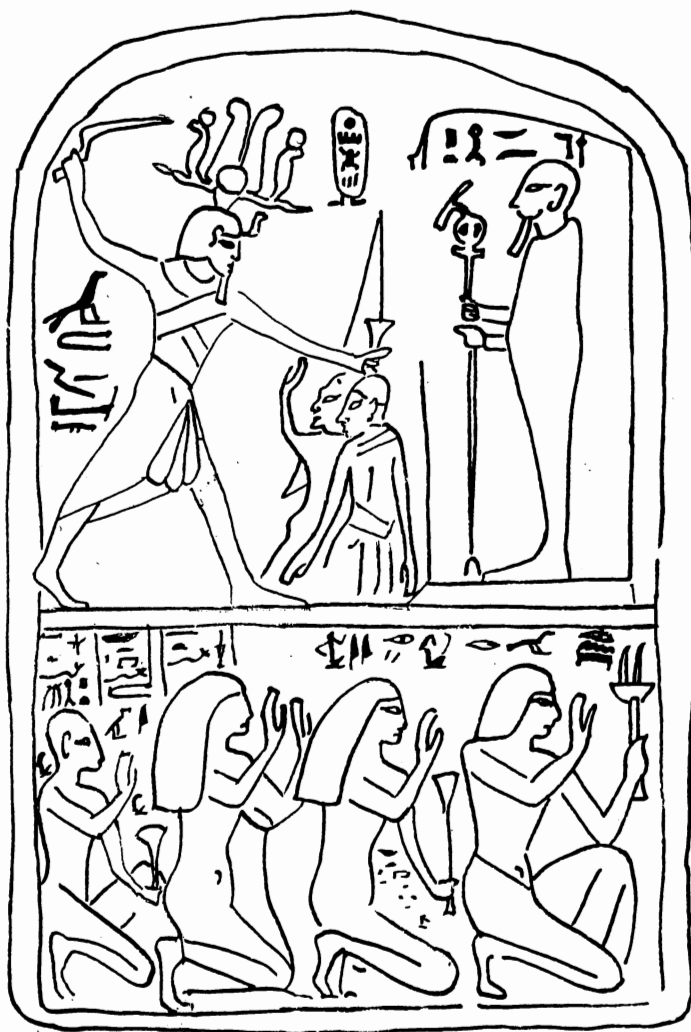


Fig. 3 Stela Hannover 1935.200.230





Fig. 4 Stela Chicago Art Institute 1893.75

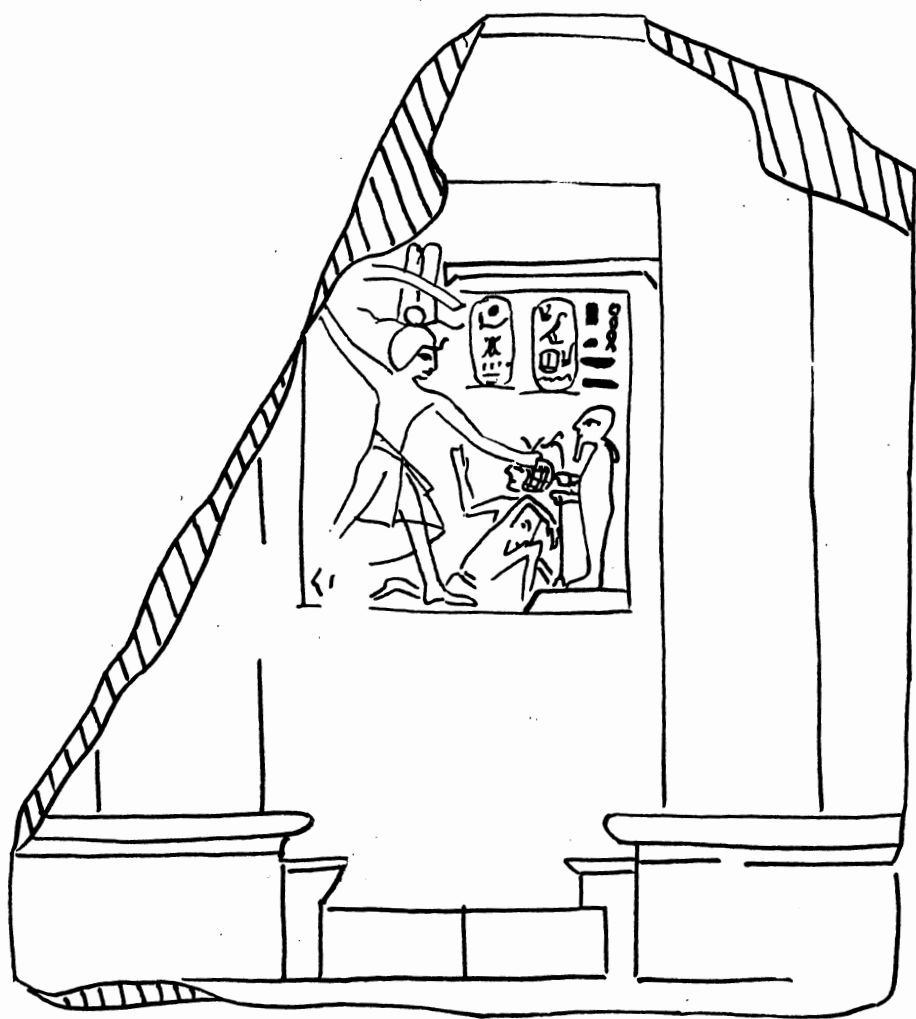


Fig. 5 Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art 64.285

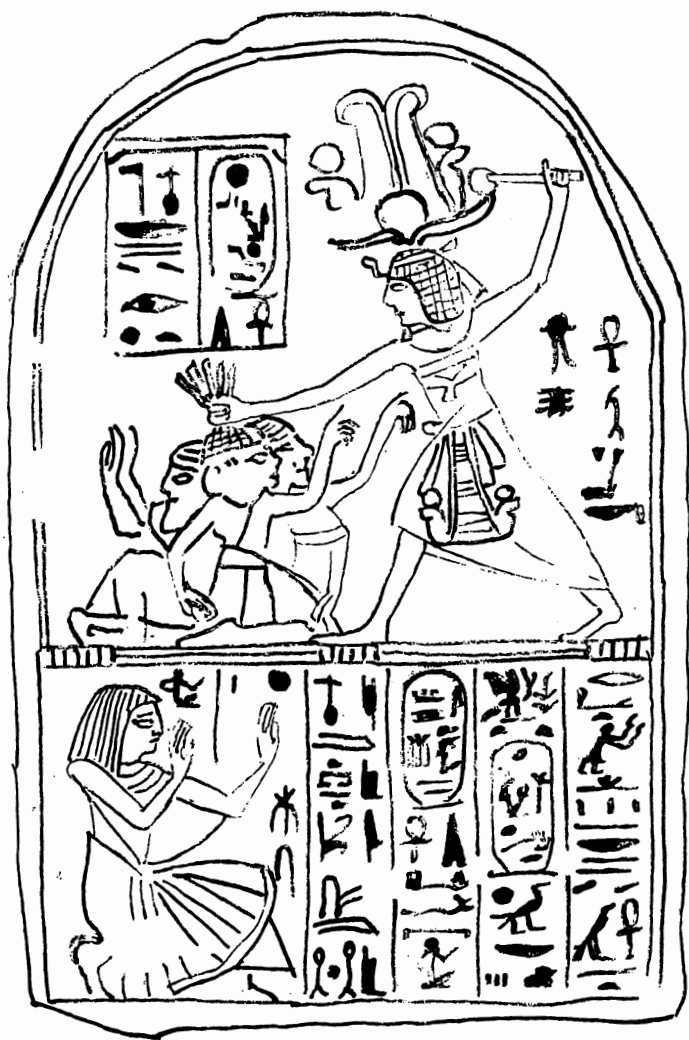


Fig. 6 Stela Louvre E16373

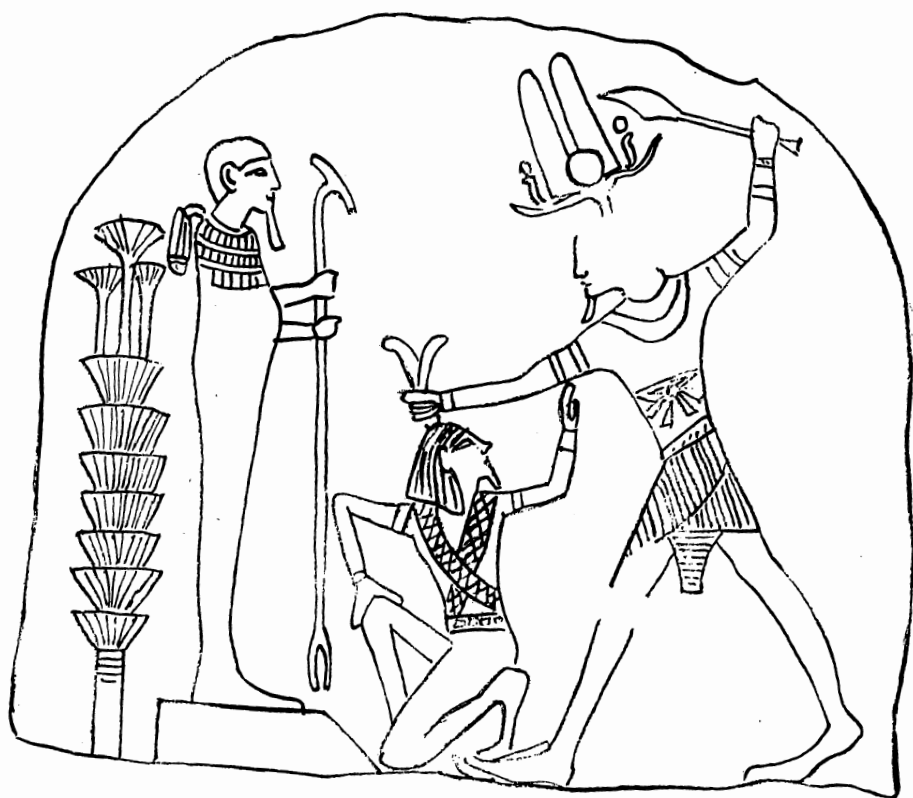


Fig. 7 Stela Florence 2587

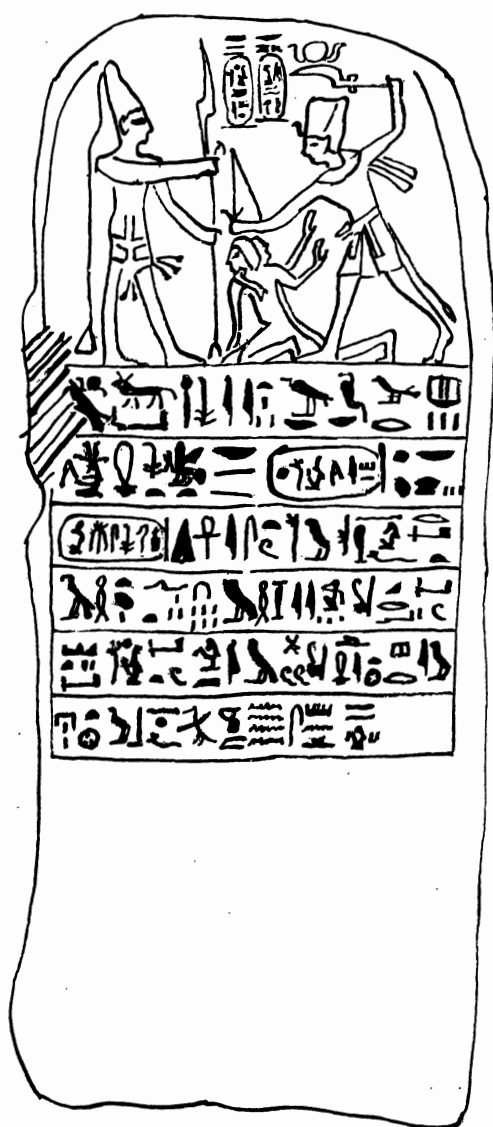


Fig. 8 Stela Cairo JE 88879

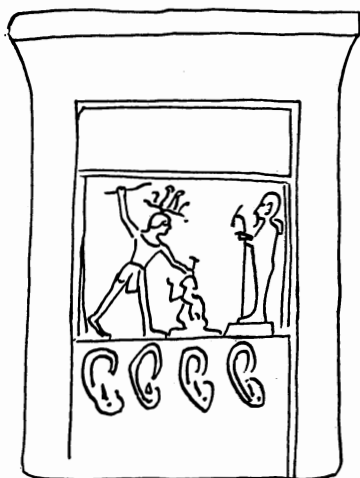


Fig. 9 Stela Hannover 1935.200.229



Fig. 10 Stela Hannover 1935.200.204



Fig. 11 Stela Brussels E 2386

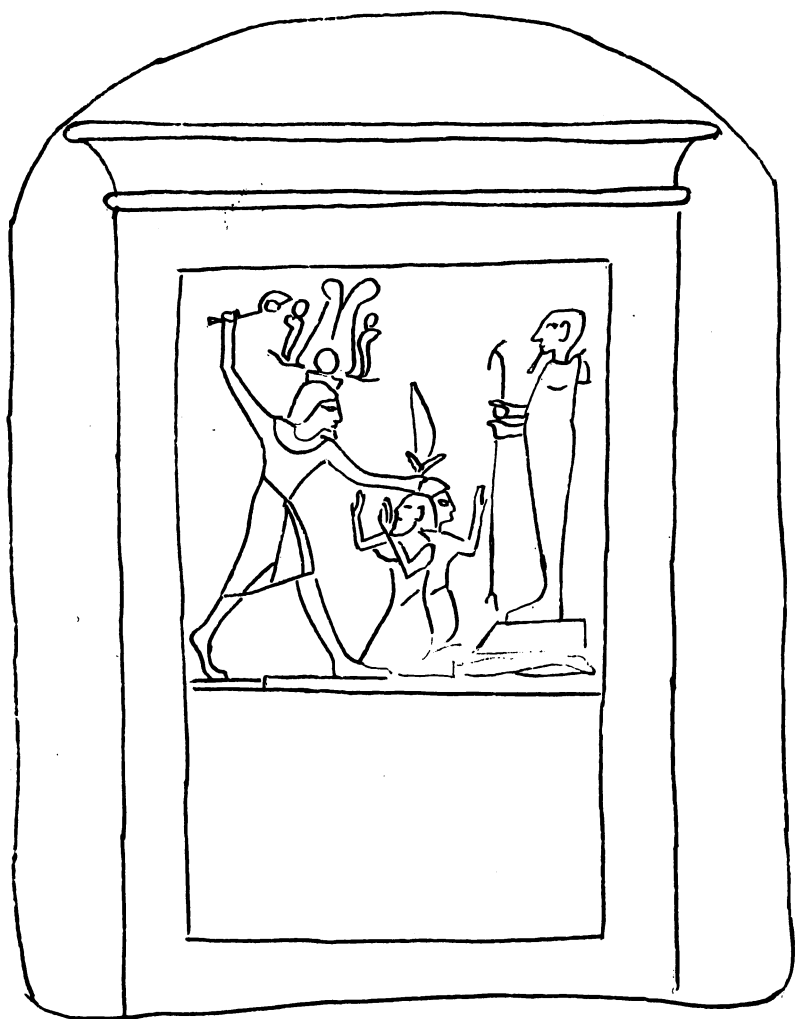


Fig. 12 Stela Berlin (DDR) 20912





Fig. 13 Stela London (V.A.) 423.1908



Fig. 14 Stela Newark (New Jersey) 29.1788



Fig. 15 Rock Stela Aswan 124

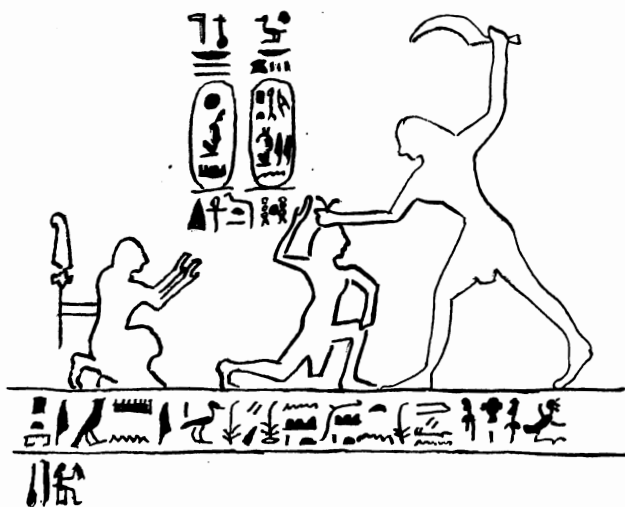


Fig. 16 Rock Stela Aswan 5



Fig. 17 Rock Stela Aswan 12



Fig. 19 Rock Stela Abu Simbel 22

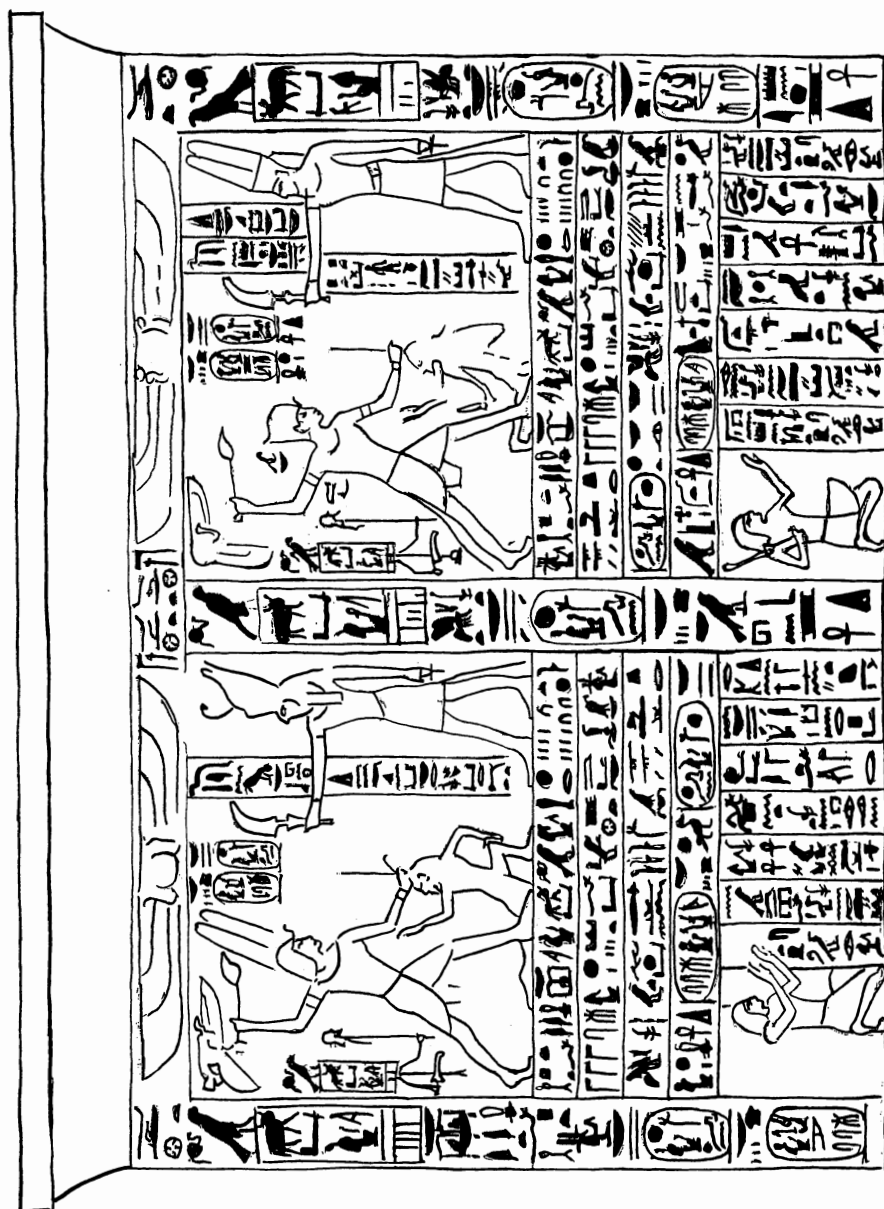


Fig. 18 Rock Stela Abu Simbel 24

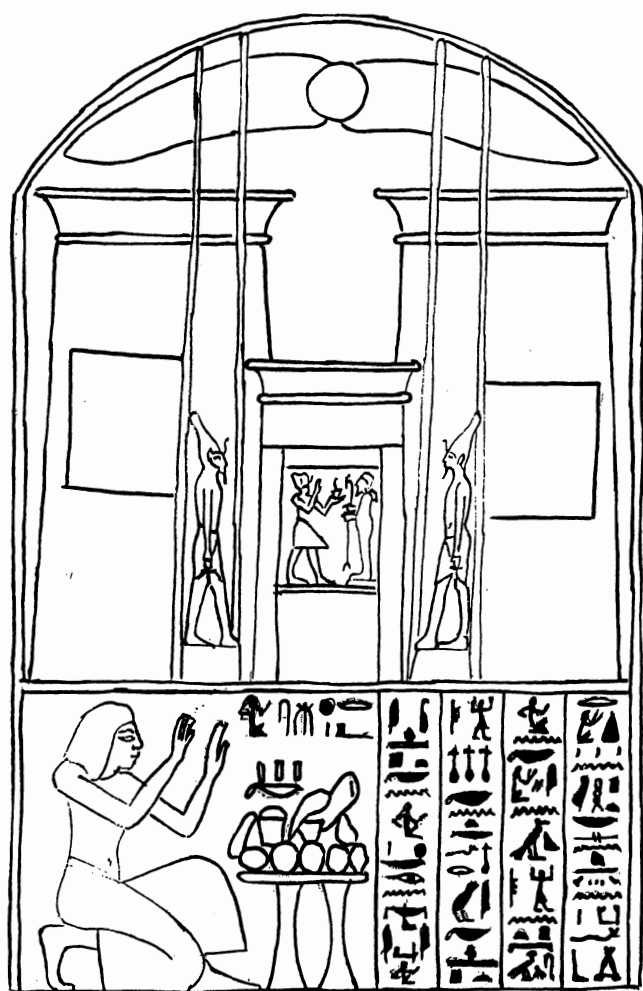


Fig. 20 Stela Cairo 16/3/35/2

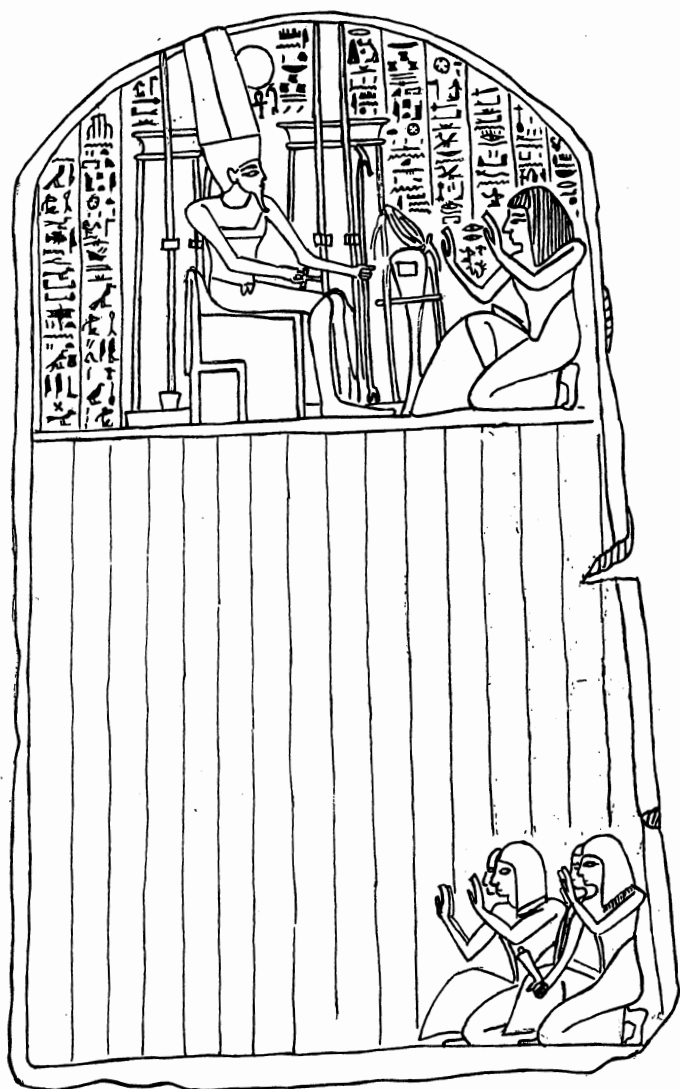


Fig. 21 Stela Berlin 23077



Fig. 22 Stela Louvre C213

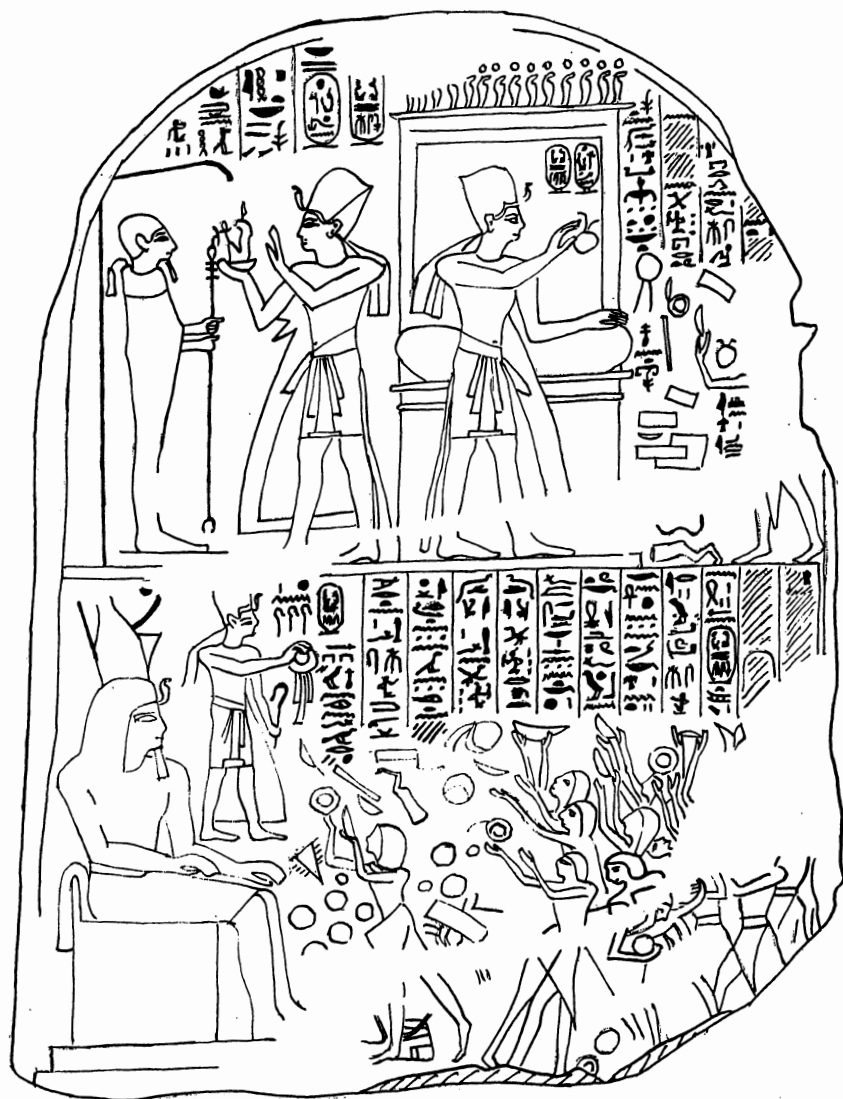


Fig. 23 Stela Hildesheim 374





Fig. 24 Stela Cairo CG 34.177

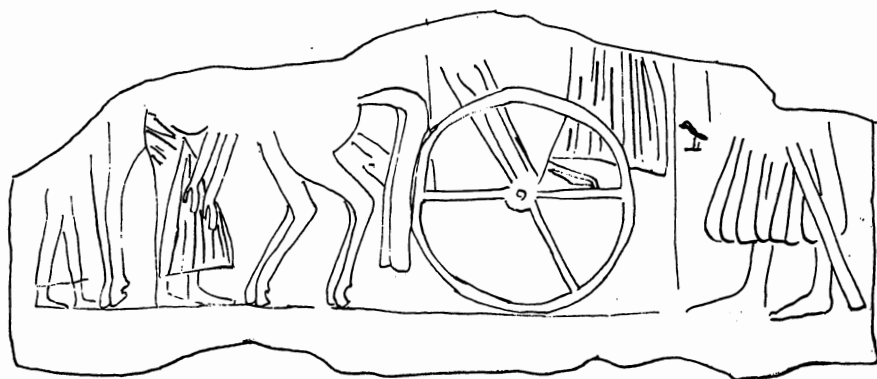


Fig. 25 Unnumbered Giza Stela



Fig. 26 Stela Cairo CG 34.176

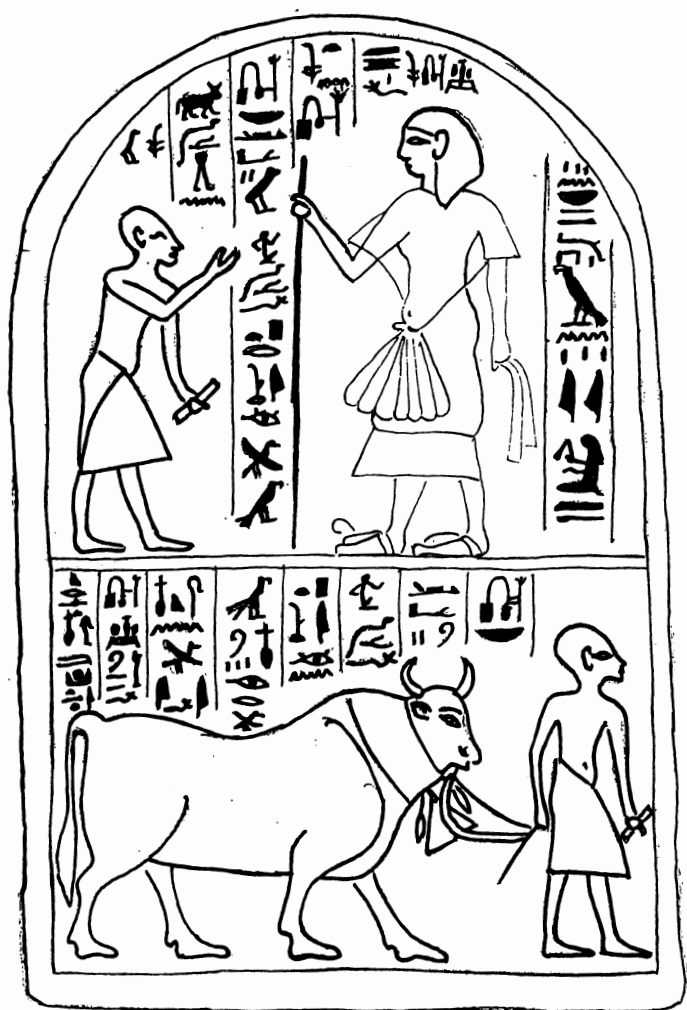


Fig. 27 Stela Cairo CG 34.178



Fig. 28 Stela Cairo CG 34.180

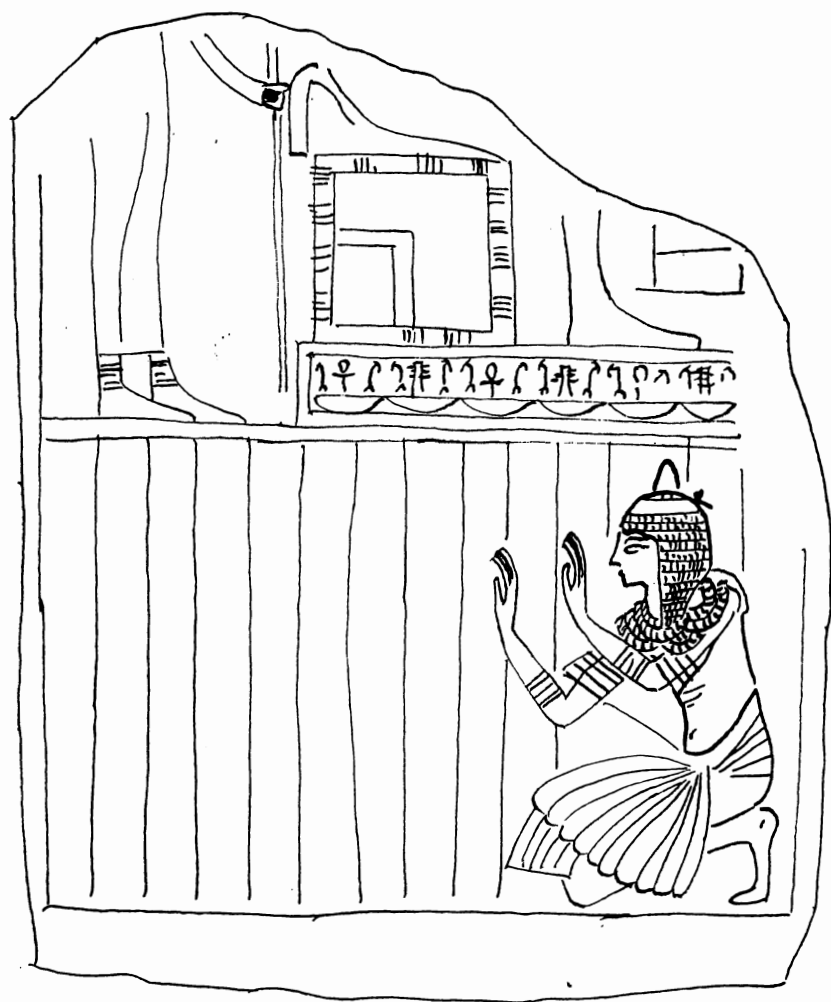


Fig. 29 Stela Ny Carlsberg 897

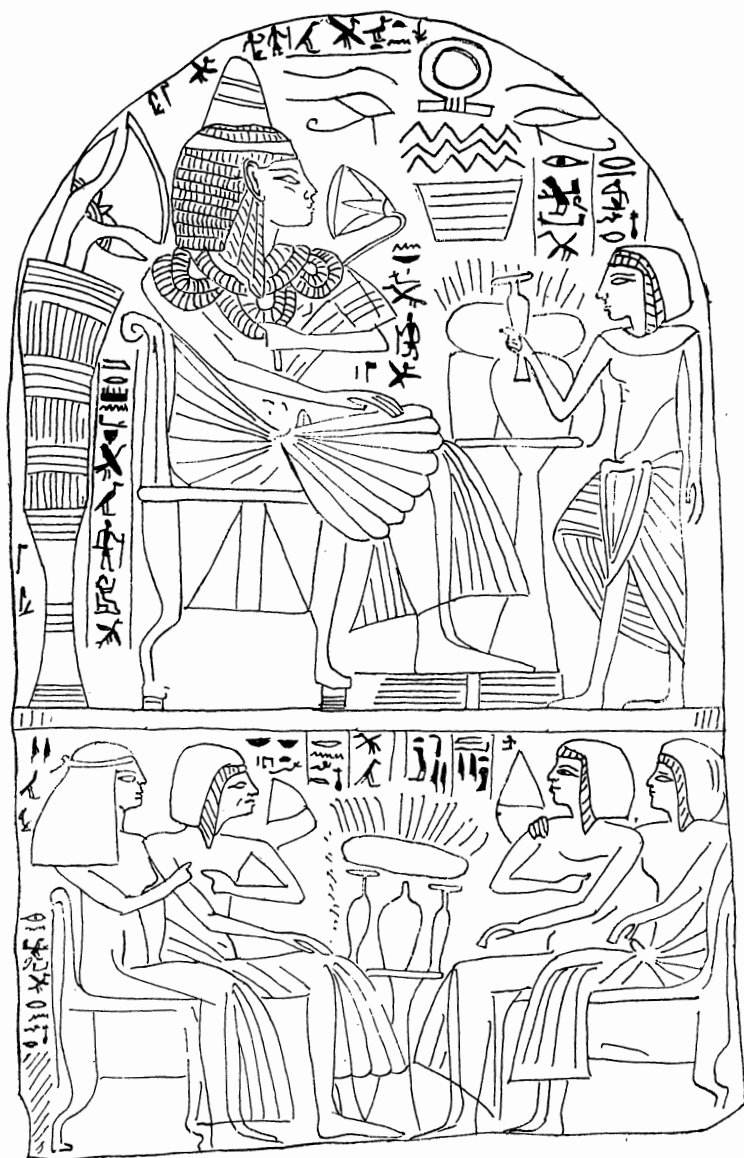


Fig. 30 Stela Louvre E 14275



Fig. 31 Stela Yale Art Gallery 28.58



Fig. 32 Stela Vatican City 253



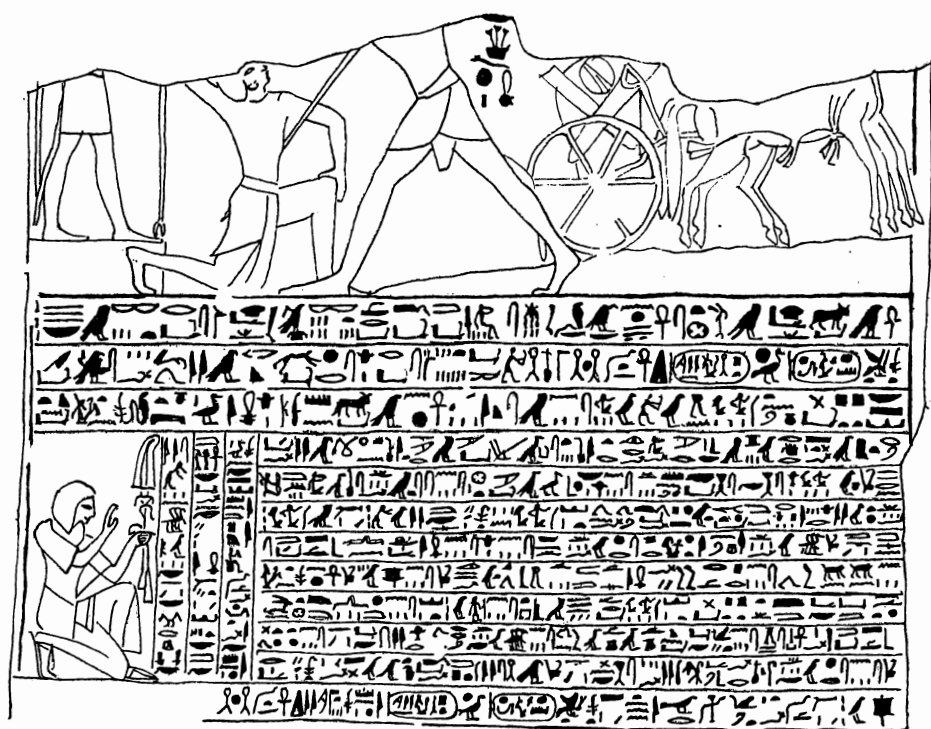


Fig. 33 Rock Stela of Amenemope at Kasr Ibrim

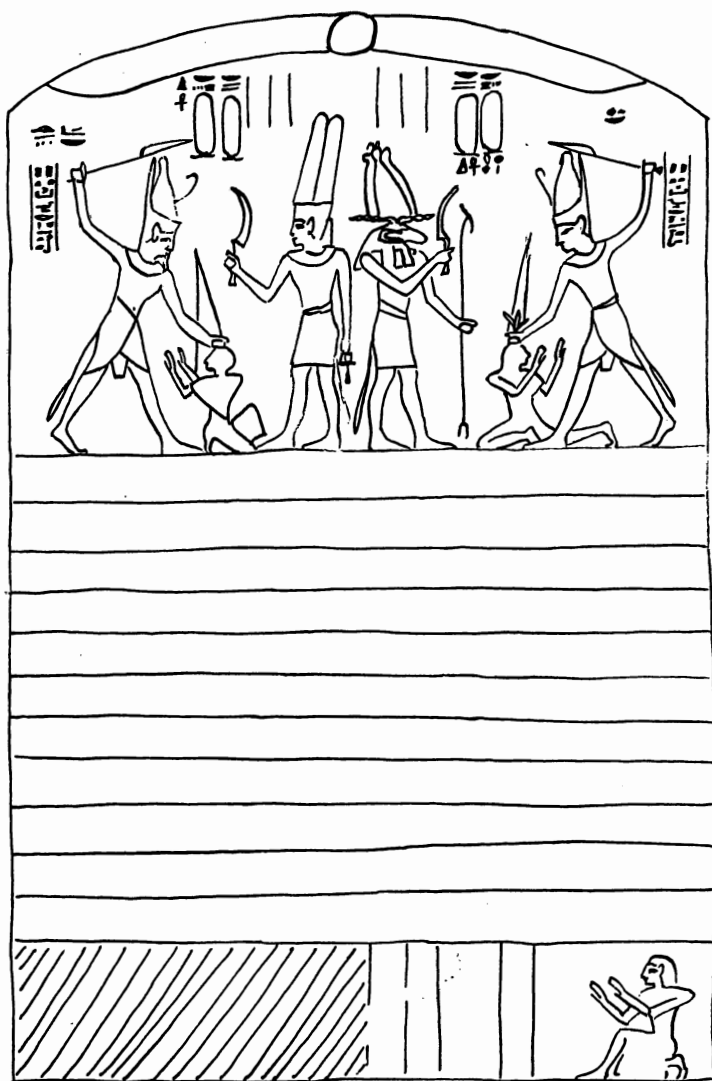
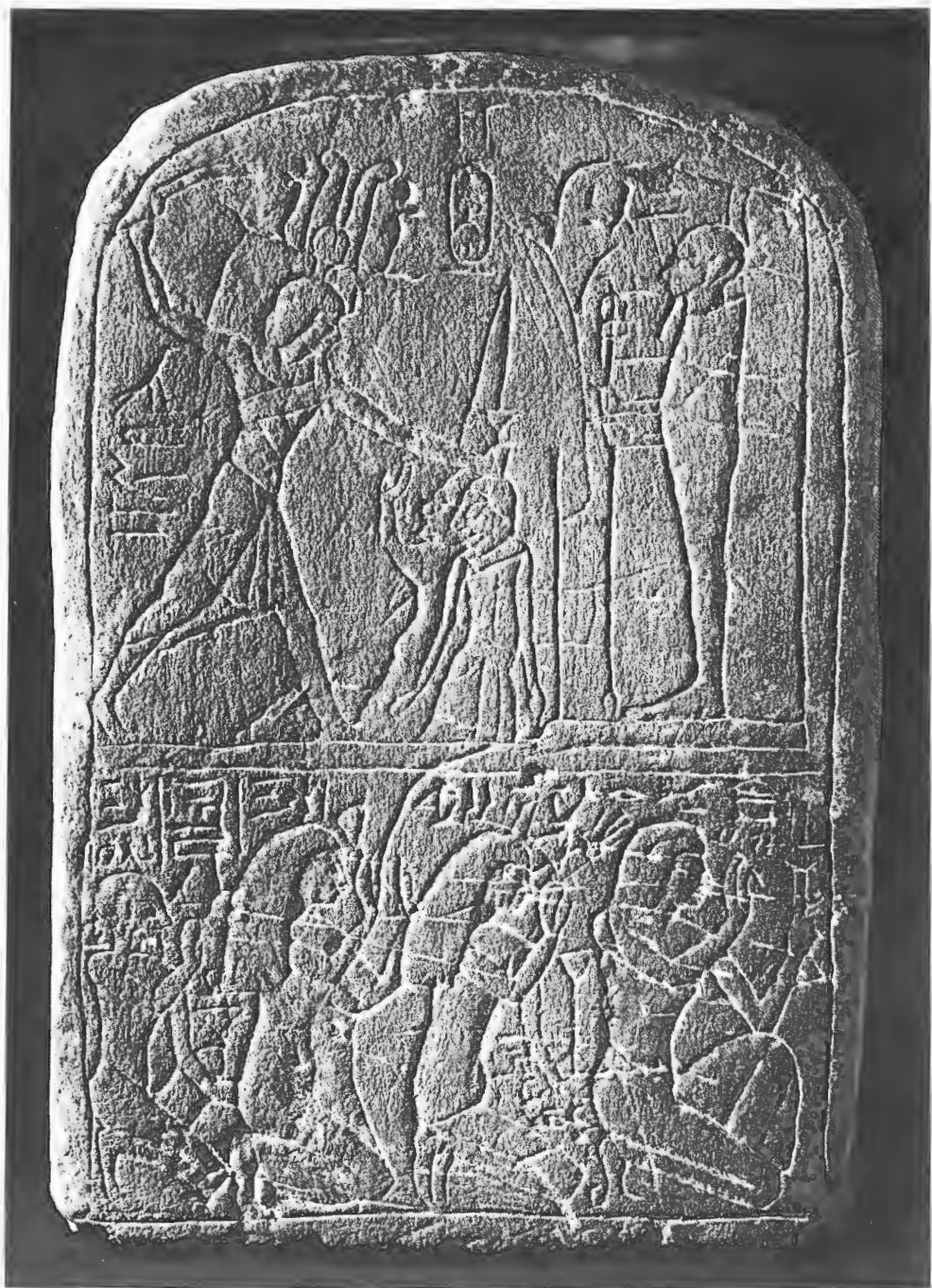


Fig. 34 Aswan Rock Stela of Ramesses II



Fig. 35 Rock Stela Aswan 123



Pl. 1 Stela Hannover 1935.200.230. Photograph courtesy of the Kestner Museum, Hannover.



Pl. 2 Stela Chicago Art Institute 1893.75. Photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.



Pl. 3 Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art 64.285. Photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



Pl. 4 Stela Brussels E 2386. Photograph courtesy of the Musees Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels.



Pl. 5 Stela Berlin (DDR) 20912. Photograph courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Berlin, German Democratic Republic.





Pl. 6 Stela Newark 29.1788. Photograph courtesy of the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.